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Public support to food security in India, Brazil and South Africa: Elements for a policy dialogue

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PUBLIC SUPPORT TO FOOD SECURITY IN INDIA, BRAZIL AND SOUTH AFRICA:

ELEMENTS FOR A POLICY DIALOGUE

Working Paper number 80

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIE	Alternative and Innovative Education
ANC	African National Congress
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CAISAN	Inter-ministerial Chamber on Food and Nutritional Security
CASP	Comprehensive Agriculture Support Programme
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CDDPH	Civil Rights Division
CNSAN	National Conference of Food and Nutritional Security
CONAB	National Supply Company
CONSEA	Food and Nutritional Security Council
CSG	Child Support Grant
DHESCA	Platform on Economic, Social, Cultural and Environmental Rights
DPS	Decentralised Procurement Scheme
EBIA	Brazilian Food Insecurity Scale
EGoM	Empowered Group of Ministers
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FBSAN	Brazilian Forum on Food and Nutritional Security
GHI	Global Hunger Index
HFIAS	Household Food Insecurity Access Scale
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IBSA	India-Brazil-South Africa Forum
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Service
ICMR	Indian Council of Medical Research
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IFSS	Integrated Food Security Strategy
ISHI	India State Hunger Index
LOSAN	Organic Law of Food and Nutritional Security
MAFISA	Micro-Agricultural Financial Institutions of South Africa
MALA	Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs
MDA	Ministry of Agrarian Development
MDM	Mid-day Meal

MDS	Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger
MSP	Minimum Support Price
NCU	National Coordination Unit
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NSNP	National School Nutrition Programme
NFSA	National Food Security Act
NFSF	National Food Security Forum
NFSM	National Food Security Mission
NNMB	National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau
NPF	National Policy for Farmers
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
OHS	October Household Surveys
PAA	Food Acquisition Programme
PAT	Programme of Support to Workers
PBF	<i>Bolsa Família</i> Programme
PGPAF	Programme of Price Guarantee for Family Farming
PNAD	National Household Sample Survey
PNAE	National School Feeding Programme
PNATER	National Policy of Technical Assistance and Rural Extension
PNSAN	National Food and Nutritional Security Policy
POF	Household Budget Survey
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRONAF	National Programme for Strengthening Family Farming
PUCL	People's Union for Civil Liberties
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SEAF	Family Farming Insurance
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SISAN	National System for Food and Nutritional Security
SISVAN	System of Food and Nutritional Surveillance
TPDS	Targeted Public Distribution System
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZH	Zero Hunger

PUBLIC SUPPORT TO FOOD SECURITY IN INDIA, BRAZIL AND SOUTH AFRICA: ELEMENTS FOR A POLICY DIALOGUE*

Darana Souza** and Danuta Chmielewska**

1 INTRODUCTION

Together, India, Brazil and South Africa have nearly 1,365 billion inhabitants (World Bank, 2009), or about 20 per cent of the world's population. Although the three countries have demonstrated the potential for transformative development in the South, their experience has been marked by key challenges such as relatively high levels of poverty, inequality and food insecurity, problems that persist for significant numbers of people. This minilateral group of countries known as IBSA is a crucial pole for increasing South-South learning and has much potential for debate on innovative development policy initiatives.

IBSA functions as a coordinating mechanism among these three multiethnic and multicultural democracies. Its establishment was formalised in 2003 by the Brasilia Declaration, which mentions India, Brazil and South Africa's democratic credentials, their condition as developing nations, and their capacity for action on a global scale as the main reasons for the three countries to come together. The Declaration gives priority to social inclusion and equity, food security, health, welfare, employment, education, human rights and environmental sustainability. It also stresses the importance of sharing knowledge and experience on the fight against poverty, hunger and diseases.

Since IBSA's inauguration, there has been growing interest in academic partnership between the three countries, and several joint projects have emerged in various academic areas. The academic forums held in 2006 and 2010 in Brazil, 2007 in South Africa and 2008 in India were important arenas for discussing the IBSA process. These events are expected to foster insights that could contribute to the processes of policymaking in the three countries. There is a potential to build a network of academics and experts from Brazil, India and South Africa, and food security is among the themes of great interest. This paper seeks to contribute to this process by examining pertinent elements of policy dialogue.

As regards food security, each of these countries has developed conceptions and orientations that guide their policy agendas. They include distinctive treatments of several multi-dimensional strategies, multi-stakeholder arrangements and rights-based approaches. They underpin the implementation of a diverse range of permanent initiatives to tackle food insecurity, illustrated by support for land access, agricultural inputs, extension services,

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facilitated markets and other issues in the area of food availability. Programmes dealing with food access for vulnerable groups take the form of initiatives such as school meals, public procurement for subsidised food sales or free distribution, public works and cash transfers. Attention to proper food utilisation and non-food determinants, such as through appropriate water facilities, food education, food supplements, and adequacy of health and nutrition services, are also considered. Within this multitude of public approaches, the three countries have significant similarities and differences that can be investigated, with a view to enriching the policy and programming debates.

In this context, the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth presents a comparative study of the food-security policy agendas in India, Brazil and South Africa. The aim of this paper is to identify and examine critical issues and good practices in order to reveal relevant points for knowledge sharing among the three countries. Acknowledging that the national situations considered here are marked by specificities and complexities, this paper does not aim to analyse them fully or to deepen each aspect of the policy and programming contexts. Rather, it seeks to point out some key areas that could be taken into consideration in possible exchanges of knowledge on public food-security interventions among the IBSA members.

Following this introduction, Section 2 presents the conceptual framework on food security that guides this study, and offers succinct data on the three countries based on leading international measures. Section 3 offers a general presentation of the food-security policy agendas, highlighting their broad comparative elements. It explores the leading conceptions, orientations and measurements used. Section 4 deals with the rights-based approach to food security, focusing on the current legal apparatus and accountability mechanisms. Section 5 examines how different stakeholders, particularly civil-society organisations and various levels of government, take part in public interventions. Section 6 considers food production, highlighting two particular issues: how the promotion of small-scale farming is taken into account in food-security policy, and how environmental matters are considered in public support for food production. Section 7 explores major public initiatives on access to food, and draws attention to some relevant experiences of cash transfers, in-kind transfers and public works. Section 8 assesses key challenges and achievements relating to food security in the three countries. Section 9 points out the main issues that could be explored in further policy dialogue. Finally, a summary table of the major themes considered throughout the text is provided in the Annex.

2 PRIMARY CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF FOOD SECURITY

The concept of food security has evolved significantly over time. The most widely used definition is the one adopted at the 1996 World Food Summit in Rome, which has been slightly revised and formally endorsed at the global level and reads as follows:

“Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”

This definition addresses four main dimensions of food security: the physical availability of food; economic, social and physical access to food; food utilisation; and the stability of the other three dimensions over time. The definition is the result of important advances in the meaning and common understanding of food security (FAO, 2008).

Initially, interest in food security revived with the world food crisis of 1972–74, which was characterised by reduced global grain supplies due to adverse conditions in several parts of the world. As a result, the first World Food Conference in 1974 focused on global production, trade and stocks. The original food-security debate also concentrated on these themes, and hence attention centred entirely on the physical availability of food.

Later, however, it became clear that ensuring sufficient food supplies at the national or international levels would not in itself guarantee household-level food security. From the early 1980s, therefore, access to food was increasingly recognised as an important determinant of food security, and thus more attention was paid to incomes and expenditures in achieving food-security objectives.

As a continuation of this process, the issue of food utilisation¹ has become increasingly prominent in food-security discussions since the 1990s. Other matters such as general hygiene and sanitation, water quality, healthcare practices, and food safety and quality are also determinants of good food utilisation. Moreover, the discussions have also come to include sufficient energy and nutrient intake by individuals, as influenced by good care and feeding practices, food preparation, diversity of the diet and intra-household distribution.

Finally, the stability of food security has been emphasised. Individuals who have an adequate food intake today can become food-insecure if they are exposed periodically to inadequate access to food. Adverse weather conditions or political and economic instability may affect an individual's food-security status. Reducing the risk of adverse effects on the other food-security dimensions, therefore, is of crucial importance.

Some of these different dimensions of food security will guide our approach to the phenomenon throughout this paper. Considering their extent and the complexity of the policy contexts considered here, the paper centres on a reduced range of orientations and programmes common to and/or comparable among all three countries. They are organised into broad themes—namely, the rights-based approach, multi-stakeholder systems, food production, and food access. Hence other issues are yet to receive further attention, such as food utilisation, nutrition initiatives, and a more comprehensive examination of food stability as a cross-cutting concern.

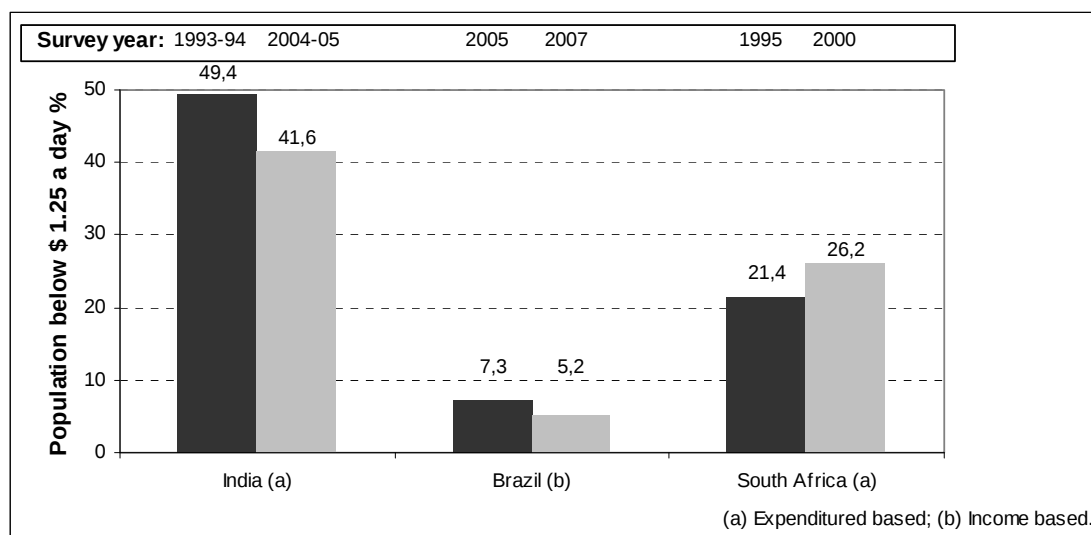
2.2 ELEMENTS OF THE THREE FOOD-SECURITY SITUATIONS

In order to offer a preliminary picture of the food security situation in India, Brazil and South Africa, a set of international measures are presented below.

A widely used and related criterion is the international poverty line at purchasing power parity (PPP) (see Figure 1). Although mainly used to measure income poverty, it is often applied as a proxy to assess food insecurity. International poverty lines were recently revised using new data on PPPs compiled in the 2005 round of the International Comparison Programme,² along with data from an expanded set of household income and expenditure

surveys. The new extreme poverty line is set at US\$1.25 a day in 2005 PPP terms, which represents the mean of the poverty lines found in the poorest 15 countries ranked by per capita consumption (World Bank, 2010).

FIGURE 1

International Poverty Line, 2010

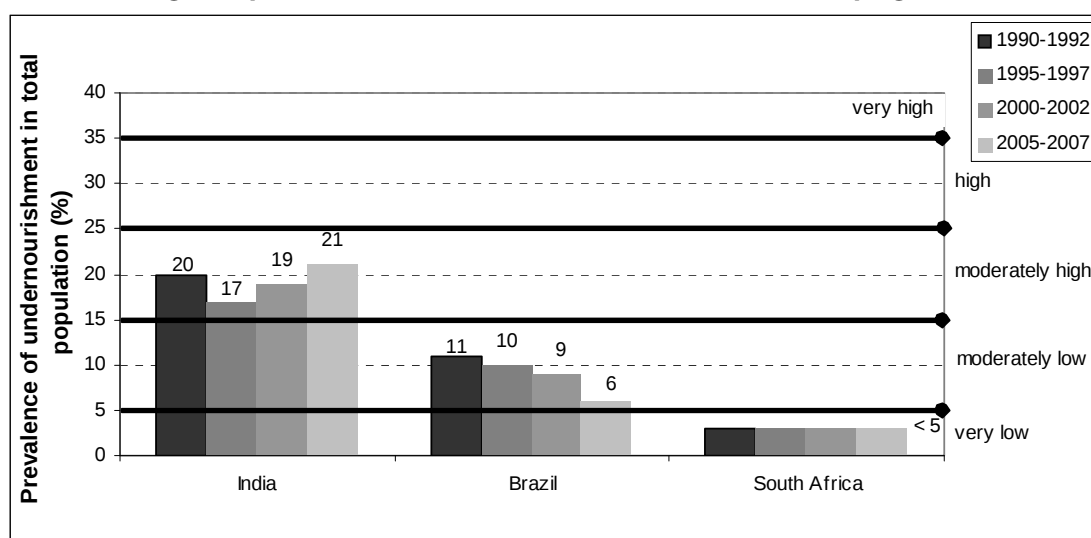
Source: World Bank (2010).

According to this measure, Brazil is in a better position, while South Africa and India have higher rates. India and Brazil have been able to improve their situation in the last two decades, while South Africa's position has worsened. In this regard, the situation in India is of much more concern than the other two cases. Note that the survey years for each country vary and that the poverty line is based on expenditure in India and South Africa, whereas in Brazil it is based on income. Comparisons among countries should thus be taken with caution.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) uses a hunger measure based on undernourishment, which refers to the proportion of the population whose dietary energy consumption is less than a pre-determined threshold. On this basis, the FAO has prepared an annual Hunger Map providing a snapshot of the hunger situation worldwide. Figure 2 shows the results for the three countries. Conditions in India have worsened since 1995 and the country has substantial levels of undernourishment; Brazil has made significant progress in recent years; and South Africa has managed to maintain a very low prevalence of undernourishment.

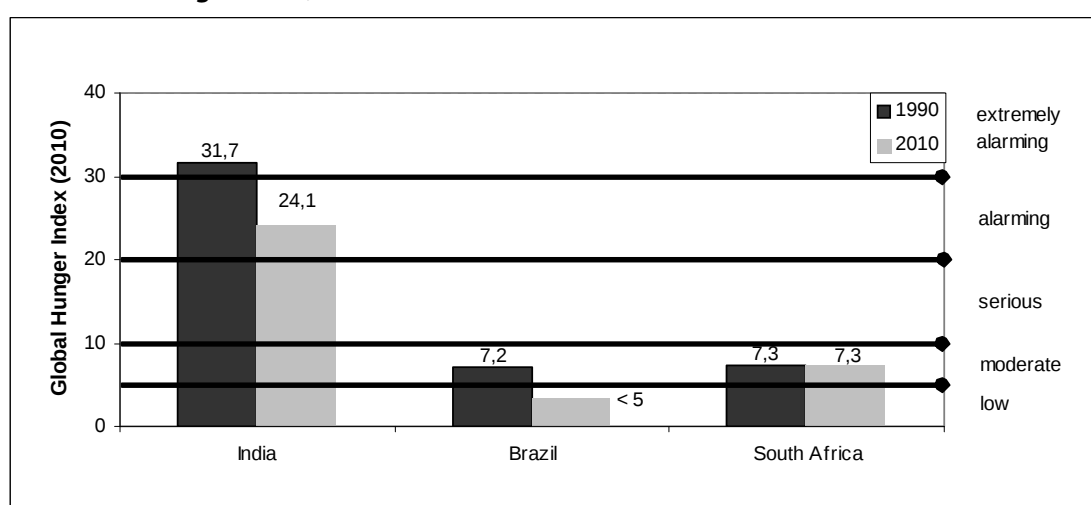
Another widely used and more complex tool is the Global Hunger Index (GHI) developed by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) to measure and track global hunger. The GHI's broader approach includes three, interlinked, hunger-related indicators: the proportion of the undernourished population, the prevalence of underweight in children, and the child mortality rate. By capturing these different aspects of hunger in one index number, the GHI tries to present a quick overview of a complex issue, although the risk of narrowing down remains present.

FIGURE 2

FAO Hunger Map 2010: Prevalence of Undernourishment in Developing Countries, 2005–07

Source: FAO (2010).

FIGURE 3

Global Hunger Index, 2010

Source: IFPRI (2010).

With regard to the IBSA countries, the GHI shows (see Figure 3) that from 1990 to 2010 India moved from a situation of extremely alarming hunger to one of alarming hunger; Brazil moved from the zone of moderate hunger to that of low hunger; and South Africa remained in a condition of moderate hunger. It is important to add that India is among the four countries in the world with the highest prevalence of underweight in children below five years of age (43.5 per cent). For the same indicator, the figures for South Africa and Brazil are 10.1 per cent and 2.2 per cent, respectively.

Unfortunately, broader multi-dimensional measures that include all the diverse elements of food-security remain a challenge at the international level. On the basis of the

measurements presented above, it is possible to conclude in general terms that India is in a more challenging position than Brazil and South Africa, although the three countries face their own dilemmas. These national situations, as well as the approaches and actions that each country has developed to address them, will be explored in this paper.

3 THE FOOD SECURITY POLICY AGENDA IN INDIA, BRAZIL AND SOUTH AFRICA

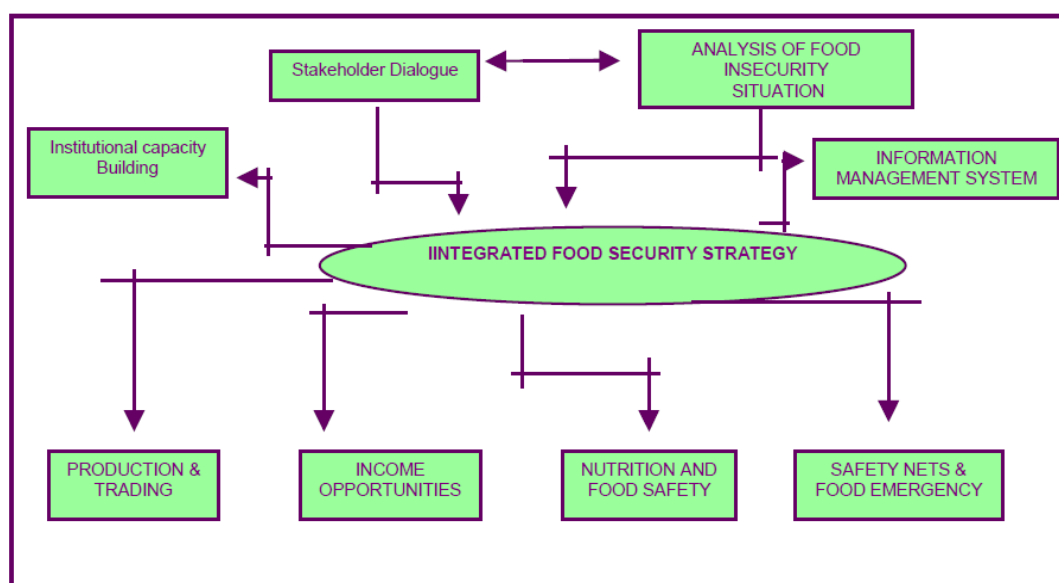
3.1 CONCEPTIONS, STRATEGIES AND ORIENTATIONS

India, Brazil and South Africa officially use comparable definitions of food security. The concept formally cited in all three countries' policies consider or have similarities to the widely used food-security definition developed since the World Food Summit of 1996. This definition appears in the concept note of the proposed Indian Food Security Act (GoI, 2009b) and in the South African National Integrated Food Security Strategy (Republic of South Africa, 2002), which will be discussed in this section. It is similar to the Brazilian legal definition as stated in the Organic Law of Food and Nutritional Security (Brazil, 2006). That text, however, reinforces other matters such as the right to food and sustainability concerns:³ "food and nutritional security is the realisation of everyone's right to regular and permanent access to quality food in sufficient quantity, without compromising the access to other essential needs, based on health-promoting food practices that respect cultural diversity and that are environmentally, culturally, economically and socially sustainable"⁴ (Brazil, 2006a).

These definitions are reflected in the public initiatives that the three countries undertake. To some extent those initiatives consider multi-dimensional features of food security, as illustrated by the wide range of public programmes and actions implemented. But each country has its own ways of conceiving of and implementing policy and programming.

South Africa has designed the National Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS). Launched in 2002, this innovative scheme seeks to harmonise the country's various food-security programmes. Its core areas of intervention are household food production and trading; income opportunities; nutrition and food safety; safety nets and food emergencies; analysis and information systems; capacity building; and stakeholder dialogue (Figure 4) (Republic of South Africa, 2002). Several current initiatives implemented in various sectors of government can be correlated to these areas of intervention, among which the main ones are the Comprehensive Agriculture Support Programme (CASP),⁵ which offers post-settlement support to farmers; the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP),⁶ which provides temporary work for the unemployed; the National School Nutrition Programme,⁷ to supply balanced meals for students; and the Comprehensive Social Security scheme,⁸ which offers different kinds of grants to targeted populations. These will be examined further in this paper. Although these initiatives are currently in place and are a pivotal part of South Africa's public policy, IFSS itself as a consolidated and coordinated strategy has yet to be implemented. IFSS has been facing significant problems of implementation, including resource and capacity constraints on the part of the national departments involved, lack of dedicated central funds, and inter- and intra-departmental rivalry (Hart, 2009).

FIGURE 4

South Africa's National Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS)

Source: Republic of South Africa (2002).

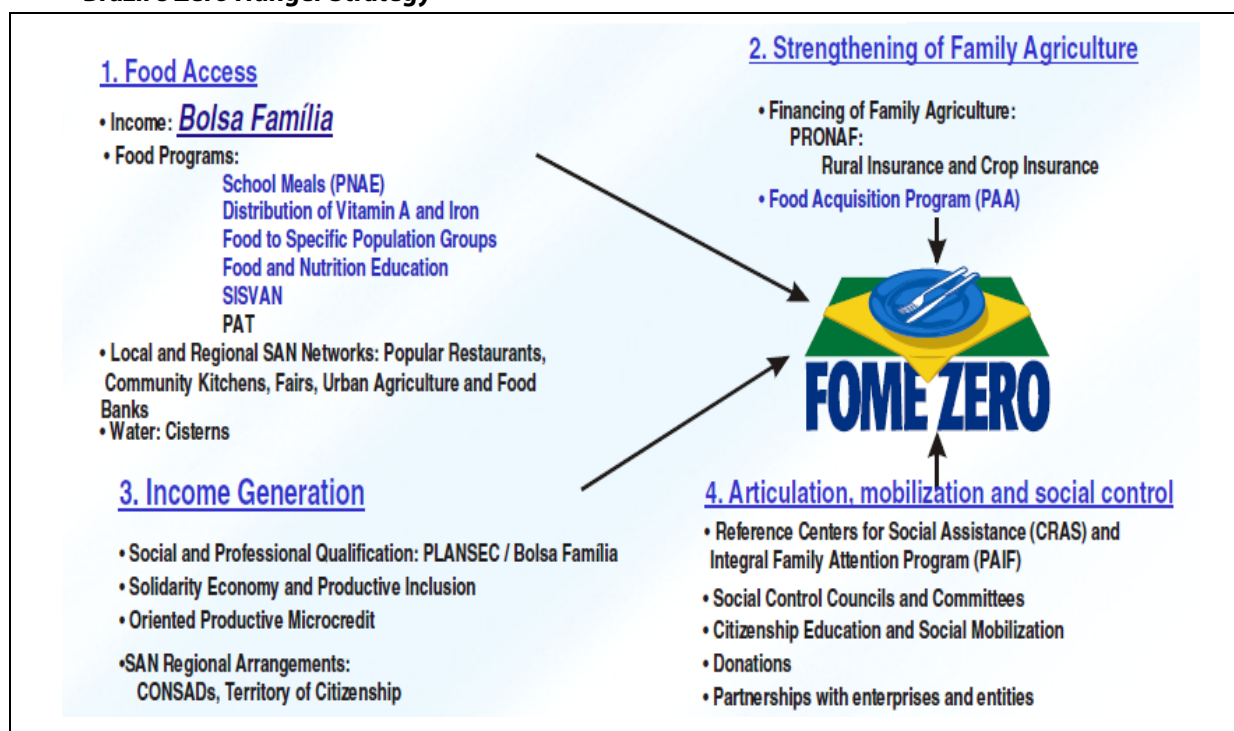
Brazil's food-security support strategy is currently defined by the Zero Hunger (*Fome Zero*) programme and by a set of legal instruments, among which the most wide-ranging is the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (PNSAN). Zero Hunger (ZH) was created in 2003 and now comprises over 20 programmes and actions in four areas: food access; strengthening family agriculture; income generation; and coordination, mobilisation and social control (Figure 5). ZH combines continuity with innovation. On the one hand it includes important new programmes such as the conditional cash transfer scheme *Bolsa Família*⁹ and the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA),¹⁰ which is a system of public food procurement and distribution. On the other, it has incorporated a range of longstanding initiatives like the Programme of Support to Workers (PAT), created in 1976, which offers benefits such as food items and prepared meals to low-income workers.¹¹ But there is limited integration among the ZH programmes; rather, it has been a common umbrella for a range of government initiatives.¹²

In addition to Zero Hunger, in recent years civil society and the government have made solid efforts to create the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (PNSAN). Launched by decree¹³ in August 2010, this establishes the guidelines and goals of public support to food security in Brazil. PNSAN covers an array of themes related to sectors such as health, education, rural development and labour. The decree also specifies the tools for the policy's future implementation, since it provides the guidelines for the impending preparation of the National Food and Nutritional Security Plan, as well as related mechanisms for management, financing, monitoring and evaluation. The first plan is expected to be prepared by August 2011.

PNSAN and the future plan represent an important further step in ZH and a significant consolidation of Brazilian public support for food security and nutrition. On the one hand the scope of the ZH strategy is broadened, since the plan will strengthen other relevant aspects of food-security policy such as land reform, guarantee of minimum prices for agricultural

products, management of agrobiodiversity and international humanitarian assistance. On the other, government support for food security and nutrition is now enshrined as state policy, which helps safeguard it irrespective of whether ZH is maintained as a common strategy by future governments. PNSAN should now be put properly into practice.

FIGURE 5

Brazil's Zero Hunger Strategy

Source: Aranha (2010).

In India, too, government support for food security is broad. The national government has about 20 schemes in place to tackle food insecurity and malnutrition. These are related to various government sectors, since they seek to support agricultural production, distribution, purchase and use, as well as to ensure the provision of health and nutritional services, sanitation and others. Initiatives include subsidised food sales, school meals, healthcare services, and pensions for targeted vulnerable citizens. They include longstanding schemes such as the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS),¹⁴ which has been in place since 1975 and seeks to provide education, nutrition and health services to women and children; and recent initiatives such as the National Food Security Mission, launched in 2007, which aims to increase crop productivity, and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) of 2005, which offers rural households a minimum of 100 days of guaranteed employment per year.

Nonetheless, this wide range of programmes does not comprise a common, formalised strategy as in Brazil and South Africa. In fact, the main policy tool currently under discussion in India is the proposed National Food Security Act (NFSA), which is being considered by the cabinet and is likely to be moved in the form of a National Food Security Bill in parliament. NFSA has subject to sharp disputes raised largely by civil society. The proposal centres on one initiative, the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS),¹⁵ modifying it and giving it several specific directions. Key contentious issues include the targeting mechanisms of TPDS and the definition of the quantity, variety and sales price of the subsidised food grains to be

distributed. The act also prompts discussions about further reforms to the TPDS food-delivery mechanisms, with the aim of avoiding its existing and acknowledged problems.

More broadly, the NFSA is criticised for its limited approach to food security because it fails to address important aspects of the phenomenon, including the need for a more solid consideration of nutritional aspects. These aspects could include the distribution of pulses and other cereals, as well as wider health and nutritional services to women and children. Special consideration for vulnerable and socially excluded groups could also be reinforced. Additionally, encouragement of sustainable agriculture might be included through proper organisation of the procurement process, such as a focus on local food supply chains (Right to Food Campaign, 2010d).

Hence, though India has a diversified range of actions relating to food security, it is currently paying much policy attention to the supply of certain food grains, particularly through TPDS. The effort to enact a food security bill is an important initiative towards ensuring food security and giving a statutory basis to related policy, but the NFSA does not take a more comprehensive and multi-dimensional view of food security and neglects other, existing schemes that contribute to food security.

Another important feature of all three countries' interventions is that they respond to the need to consolidate a rights-based approach to food security. The right to food is stated in or derived from the three countries' constitutions. The IFSS, Brazil's Zero Hunger and PNSAN, and India's food-security programmes are all regarded as crucial tools to enable the state to assume lead responsibilities in realising this right. Nevertheless, consolidation of the right to food as a whole differs significantly among these countries, as Section 4 will show.

Another relevant matter is that among the multitude of actions implemented by India, Brazil and South Africa, each country has its own focuses, evident in the budget and scope of their major related public programmes. Brazil emphasises conditional cash transfers, credit for "family agriculture" and school meals. Its main programme is *Bolsa Família*,¹⁶ which has the largest budget in ZH (equivalent to more than US\$8 billion in 2010) and serves more than 12 million households nationwide (MDS, 2010). It is followed by the National Programme Strengthen Family Farming (PRONAF)¹⁷ and the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE).¹⁸ South Africa focuses largely on different kinds of grants through the National Comprehensive Social Security Scheme.¹⁹

This serves about 14 million people and has a budget of nearly US\$12.4 billion for 2010/2011, which is more than eighteen times all the other main programmes related to the IFSS (National Treasury, 2010). In India, major food security programmes are the TPDS,²⁰ whose budget is estimated to exceed US\$5.4 billion a year with the aim of reaching 160 million households (Saxena, 2011) and NREGA,²¹ with an annual budget of more than US\$8.7 billion and 45 million beneficiary families (Pullarao, 2010). Other large Indian initiatives are the Mid-Day Meal (MDM)²² and the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS).

As regards the major programmes, therefore, it is notable that there is critical attention to food access in all three cases, particularly through in-kind and in-cash transfers, as well as public works. These issues are discussed in Section 7. Furthermore, particular attention is paid to food production, mainly support to specific kinds of producers in Brazil, as analysed in Section 6.

3.2 MEASUREMENT SCHEMES

The three countries have their own food-security measurements. India widely uses the national poverty line²³ as a parameter for targeting in food-related programmes. The Planning Commission is the government's main agency for estimating poverty at national and state levels; it centralises the periodic revision of the poverty line. The Commission estimates the proportion and number of the poor separately for rural and urban areas at national and state levels. These estimates have been released using the survey data on household consumption expenditure collected by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). According to the criterion used by the Commission, 36 per cent of the population was living below the poverty line in 1993–94, and 27.5 per cent in 2004–05 (Gol, 2007).

There has been a growing concern about the official poverty estimates released by the Commission, and they have been severely criticised on various levels. The Commission therefore formed an expert group under the chairmanship of Suresh Tendulkar (the Tendulkar Committee) to examine the issue, and to suggest a new poverty line and related estimates. The revised poverty lines recommended by the Committee have been accepted by the Planning Commission and are as follows (Gol, 2009a):

TABLE 1

India. Estimates of Population: Percentage Below Poverty Line (BPL)

Year	Official estimates			Tendulkar committee		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
1993–94	32.4	37.3	36.0	31.8	50.1	45.3
2004–05	25.7	28.3	27.5	25.7	41.8	37.2

Source: Gol (2009a).

Despite the upward revision of the poverty line, there is still sharp criticism of its persistence. One of the main controversial issues is average calorie consumption, which is considered to be far below the norms of the Indian Council of Medical Research for the average person in India. As regards the application of this line as a threshold by the central government in targeting public programmes, this methodology is said to fail to reflect reality. This obliges states either to reduce the number of people on their below-poverty-line (BPL) list or to include beneficiaries beyond the official BPL numbers with their own resources (Right to Food Campaign, 2010d).

Recently, a new index was devised to provide closer scrutiny of hunger. The India State Hunger Index (ISHI) 2009 was built in a manner similar to the Global Hunger Index (GHI) 2008 to enable comparisons among Indian states and between those states and other countries. This new state-focused index has been seen as an important advocacy tool to build awareness of the disparities in hunger across India. It analyses hunger levels in 17 major states (which collectively account for more than 95 percent of the national population) using three indicators: prevalence of child malnutrition, rates of child mortality, and the proportion of people who are calorie-deficient. The states with a higher hunger index are Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Orissa. In most cases, children's underweight accounts for the greatest variation between the states. The contribution of child mortality to

the higher index scores is relatively small and less variable across all the states compared to the contribution of child underweight and calorie undernourishment (IFPRI, 2009).

Additionally, the National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau (NNMB) and National Family Health Survey (NFHS) provide data on nutritional status. NFHS (2005–06) showed that 45.9 per cent of children below three years of age are suffering from undernutrition (low weight for age) and 38.4 per cent of children of same age group were stunted (IIPS, 2010).

Brazilian food security has been measured by different indicators captured in a range of data schemes. The Brazilian Food Insecurity Scale (EBIA) is a recent effort to provide an image of food security in Brazil. This methodology consists of a set of questions that focus on the informant's perceptions of household access to food in proper quantity and quality. The EBIA was applied for the first time in 2004 as part of the Brazilian National Household Sample Survey developed by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, and was applied again in 2009. Its latest application showed that 30.2 per cent of households were at some degree of food insecurity. This means that in 2009, 65.6 million people living in 17.7 million homes had some dietary restrictions or at least some concern about the possibility of restriction because of a lack of resources to buy food (IBGE, 2010b). The data released in 2010 show a total of 18.7 per cent living in mild food insecurity,²⁴ 6.5 per cent in moderate,²⁵ and 5 per cent (2.9 million people) in severe food insecurity²⁶ (IBGE, 2010b).

Additionally, the health sector's System of Food and Nutritional Surveillance (SISVAN) is in place. This tracks the nutritional status and food consumption of people who attend the basic units of the public health system. SISVAN reveals that in 2010, 3.7 per cent of children below five years of age who had used the public health system had low or very low weight-for-age, while 7.2 per cent were overweight (SISVAN, 2010).

The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics uses the National Household Budget Survey (POF) to investigate family financial conditions, combined with other information about living standards. As regards food and nutritional security, the POF provides important data such as household expenditure on food items, perceptions of the quantity and preference of food consumed, and the nutritional status of youths. The 2008–09 POF reveals significant trends among Brazil's population, with a substantial decline in malnutrition and food insecurity, and worrying figures on overweight. Some 6 per cent of children under five years old have height deficiency. The proportion of those who are overweight (33.5 per cent) is eight times higher than the underweight in the 5–9 age group and more than eighteen times in adults (the alarming figure is 49 per cent) (IBGE, 2010c).

The development of this vast range of information schemes is a significant feature of the Brazilian experience, but some related matters still need to be strengthened. First, these are dispersed datasets that have not yet been combined into one common system for a broad food-security assessment. Additionally, the lack of a common information system does not allow related public programmes and actions to respond to a wide food-security analysis. Each public intervention, including those considered in the ZH and PNSAN, defines and uses its own targeting, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

In South Africa there is no specific and accepted measure of food and nutritional insecurity, and no standardised way of monitoring it (Koch, 2010). The main measurement of food security used in the IFSS is poverty-related and linked to households' income-earning capacity. The 2000 document on measuring poverty in South Africa by Statistics South Africa

used the average price of the food basket compared to household income and expenditure as a proxy for food insecurity. According to this measure, 35 per cent of South Africans were food-insecure. This statistic is one of the leading related data items in the IFSS. Other main measures that the IFSS uses to determine national food security are related to agricultural production, consumption, household expenditure and adequacy of daily energy intake. This last indicator is set at 2,000 kcal/day, taking the World Health Organisation's (WHO) international ranges into account. It was estimated in the IFSS that 39 per cent of the population did not meet their daily energy requirement (Republic of South Africa, 2002).

There are other, related statistics in South Africa, each giving a slightly different assessment of the situation. The October Household Surveys, carried out in 1999, included a question on the ability of households to feed children as a proxy indicator of food insecurity. It showed that at the national level, 25–33 per cent of households are unable to buy food to meet the dietary requirements of children at any given time (Statistics South Africa, 2000). On the other hand, the General Household Survey 2009, a more recent assessment, for the first time included questions based on the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS)²⁷ to determine households' access to food as a proxy indicator for food insecurity. Analysis of the data indicates that an estimated 20 per cent of South African households have inadequate or severely inadequate access to food (Statistics South Africa, 2010).

Overall, the main constraints on regular and reliable reporting on trends in food insecurity and hunger in South Africa are the lack of recent national data, the use of different methodologies and criteria for selecting respondents, and the relatively long period between nutritional surveys (Hart, 2009). The various sampling and methodological challenges make cross-dataset comparison close to impossible. These same constraints prevent any determination of household-level food-security status. From the information presented above, however, one can conclude with some level of certainty that a large proportion of South African households are food-insecure (HSRC, 2009). In this context, a consistent monitoring and evaluation system should be developed with a clear target for food security. The South African Human Sciences Research Council has been spearheading work in this area and recommends that the government use a food-expenditure approach to identify a preliminary food-security target (Koch, 2010).

It is thus clear that there is no consensus on the most suitable methodology to assess the food-security situation in any of the three countries. Since the question of how to gauge that situation is still under discussion, several methodologies are currently being used. Brazil and South Africa have established systems to measure perceived food security on the basis of a set of questions that focus on the informant's view of household access to food in proper quantity and quality. South Africa's HFIAS is parallel to the EBIA used in Brazil.

4 THE RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH

Realisation of the right to adequate food²⁸ requires a complex set of actions. It entails the obligation of the state to respect, protect and fulfil this right. In other words, governments must not take actions that prevent its realisation; they should enforce the necessary mechanisms with a view to preventing third parties from violating the right, and should take the necessary measures to ensure that all individuals enjoy this right (Ziegler, 2011). Hence several state measures, including laws and programmes, should be introduced to

meet these responsibilities. This section looks in particular at the legal instruments in each country and the existing national mechanisms used to ensure that governments are accountable for fulfilling these obligations.

India, Brazil and South Africa have officially recognised the human right to adequate food. While India and Brazil ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in 1979 and 1992, respectively, South Africa took a first step toward ratifying it by signing it in 1994. The ICESCR, which entered into force in 1976, is the main international human rights instruments on the right to food. Its Article 11.1 states that “the States Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realisation of this right” (United Nations, 1966).

At the national level, India has been at the forefront of efforts to implement the right to food, including important advances in related accountability mechanisms. A key reference of this right is provided by Article 21 of the constitution, which guarantees the fundamental right to life and personal liberty. These rights are interpreted as including the right to food. This interpretation has been explicitly stated by the Indian Supreme Court several times²⁹ (Supreme Court Commissioners, 2008). Moreover, the reading of Article 21, together with two other articles (39 and 47) presents food security in a broader perspective. Article 39 requires the state to direct its policy towards ensuring that citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood, while Article 47 points out the state’s duty to raise the standard of nutrition and the standard of living of the people, as well as to improve public health. In practice, however, there are several uncertainties about the actual implementation of this right, since it often depends on the discretion and interpretation of the judges. Even so, several magistrates have strengthened the realisation of this right in India (CES, undated).

A milestone in this regard was the “PUCL versus Union of India and Others, Writ Petition (Civil) 196 of 2001”. In that year, a group of activists under the banner of the People’s Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) filed a case in the Supreme Court demanding that the right to food be recognised as a legal right of every individual. This petition was filed at a time when India’s food stocks reached unprecedented levels while hunger in drought-affected areas intensified (CES, undated). Realising the problems involved in the implementation of food-security programmes and the impacts that these could have on the well-being and even survival of most vulnerable people, the Supreme Court, in an interim order of November 2001, converted the benefits of several food-related schemes³⁰ into “legal entitlements” and directed all the state governments to fully implement them. This means, for instance, that if someone possessing an *Antyodaya*³¹ card does not get the full quota of 35 kg of grain per month at the official prices (Rs3/kg for rice and Rs2/kg for wheat), he/she can claim the debt as a matter of right, by going to Court if necessary. In the case of another initiative, the Mid-Day Meal,³² the interim order went further than just giving a legal protection to existing entitlements. It also directed the government to replace monthly “dry rations” of grain with daily, cooked, mid-day meals within a period of three months (Supreme Court Commissioners, 2008).

In order to ensure these rights, the Supreme Court established its own independent monitoring mechanisms to track both hunger and the government’s performance across the country by appointing its independent commissioners. The commissioners are empowered to monitor and enquire into any violations of the interim orders and to demand redressal, with

the full authority of the Supreme Court. Any aspects of food-related measures and programmes, even if those are not the object of any specific order, can also be scrutinised by the commissioners (Supreme Court Commissioners, 2010). The main functions of the Commissioners include: (i) an analysis of performance using macro data; (ii) participatory research; (iii) response to emergencies; (iv) ensuring the functioning of an effective micro-level grievance redressal system; (v) ensuring dissemination of information by state governments; (vi) articulating alternative demands regarding state policy, especially on hunger; (vii) preparing periodic state reports; (viii) establishing a permanent monitoring mechanism for hunger-related issues; and (ix) ensuring accountability for failures of state officials (Right to Food Campaign, 2010b).

The commissioners' reports have been important instruments of assistance to the Supreme Court in its deliberations. So far eight reports have been submitted. They have monitored the implementation of the interim orders, reviewed and analysed the performance of the central and state governments, investigated complaints and reports of local failures in food programmes, and made recommendations to defend and promote the food security of the people of India, particularly vulnerable people (Supreme Court Commissioners, 2010).

Still, however, the interim orders are far from being fully implemented and the commissioners often lack the means of holding the government accountable. Some state governments, for instance, do not reply to the commissioners' letter (CES, undated). This situation motivated the effort to build a larger public movement for the right to food, which today is the Right to Food Campaign. This campaign is an informal network of organisations and individuals involved in the realisation of the right to food in India. It is based on the consideration that "everyone has a fundamental right to be free from hunger and under-nutrition and that realising this right requires not only equitable and sustainable food systems, but also entitlements relating to livelihood security such as the right to work, land reform and social security". (Right to Food Campaign, 2010c).

In Brazil, the legal agenda of food security has also attained significant results but still faces important challenges. In recent years, there have been efforts to make related public interventions less dependent on specific governments and more identifiable as a matter of state. These efforts corresponded to the development of a system of legal instruments that reinforce the rights-based approach to this development challenge. They seek to ensure that the continuation and further development of current public programmes and actions rely less on existing political will and social mobilisation (although they are indeed likely to be strengthened by these forces) and are legally guaranteed, irrespective of the government in power.

This legal framework rests on several tools, including the Organic Law of Food and Nutritional Security (LOSAN) of 2006, the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (PNSAN) of 2010, and Constitutional Amendment 64 of 2010. Approval of this amendment, which made the right to food an obligation of the state, reinforces the need to implement programmes and actions to meet that responsibility. Implementation is further supported by PNSAN. Although this is an achievement, legal consolidation is still at an early stage in Brazil and the rights-based approach needs to be strengthened further. A clear challenge concerns proper mechanisms to ensure accountability if that right is violated.

Some initiatives to tackle this challenge are already in place. Brazil's progress towards accountability mechanisms has been helped by the development of the Councils of Food and

Nutritional Security (CONSEA)³³ in the National System for Food and Nutritional Security, the establishment of the Standing Commission of the Human Right to Adequate Food in CONSEA and the creation of the Special Commission for Monitoring Violations of the Right to Food in the Civil Rights Division³⁴ of the Attorney General's Office. Further contributions to the process are the establishment of the National Rapporteur on Human Rights to Food, Water and Rural Land of the National Platform on Economic, Social, Cultural and Environmental Rights (Dhesca),³⁵ the growing mobilisation of the Brazilian Forum on Food and Nutritional Security (FBSAN)³⁶ and other actions of civil society.

Conversely, since 1996 South Africa has enshrined the right to food in its constitution, which is considered one of the world's most liberal texts of this kind (Greer-Love, 2010). The IFSS was conceived in this context as a pivotal governmental move towards realisation of the constitutional provision on this right. It was emphasised as part of the "policy revolution" after 1994, influenced by the poverty and food insecurity in the country (Koch, 2010).

The constitution mandates that the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) should monitor the guarantee of the social and economic rights under the constitution, including the right to food. SAHRC is a national institution whose aim is to monitor and promote the respect, protection, development and attainment of human rights. It has the legal power to investigate and report on compliance, including the observance of these rights, secure appropriate redress where they have been violated, and carry out research and education activities. The commission has established a system for reporting that allows for the collection of data from relevant spheres of government in order to evaluate the progressive realisation of the right to food. Its recommendations, however, still have to be further enforced since the country lacks a body to enforce the implementation of the related public interventions (Greer-Love, 2003).

In South Africa a broader legal framework is presently missing. This framework would help guide the process of establishing a timetable, as well as targets and implementation details, for the process leading to the full realisation of the human right to food. A clear definition of authority and responsibility, along with a policy that legally defines the means of enforcing implementation and action towards non-collaboration, are yet to be developed (Koch, 2010).

As the three country experiences are compared, it is clear that India stands out for having created solid legal tools for enforcement and accountability measures related to the human right to adequate food. These advances are represented by the Supreme Court orders, the Supreme Court Commissioners and the Right to Food Campaign. The other two countries are introducing similarly advanced measures and consolidating related tools. While Brazil has been establishing bodies and laws to enforce the right to food, and ought to further develop its legal accountability mechanisms regarding violations of this right, South Africa has engaged an organisation responsible for reviewing and reporting the deficits in governmental measures to improve food security. Still, South Africa is yet to define the institutions and legal instruments capable of enforcing implementation and addressing violations of related public actions.

5 MULTI-STAKEHOLDER SYSTEMS IN FOOD-SECURITY POLICIES

The formal definitions of food security used in India, Brazil and South Africa, as discussed in Section 3, acknowledge the complexities and the several dimensions of the phenomenon. Suitable methods of addressing food security are therefore likely to cover support actions in different areas and reinforce the importance of approaches that are multi-sectoral (agriculture, health, labour, social assistance, education and so on), multi-stakeholder (governmental bodies, private sector, research institutions, social movements, non-governmental organisations) and multi-tier (federal, state, provincial, district, local governments). This can help enhance their effectiveness, ensuring coherent links among different initiatives and establishing appropriate monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. These approaches, however, are not simple to organise or implement. They require convergence and coherence built by bringing diverse professionals and institutions together around common conceptions and goals, by harmonising initiatives, and by creating effective institutional arrangements to coordinate them. The experiences of India, Brazil and South Africa highlight distinct pathways in addressing these challenges.

India's food-security context is formed by several public programmes related to various governmental sectors, but these initiatives are not organised into a single, strategic framework and their interactions are not coordinated in a common structure. Currently, the main mechanism for dialogue among the sectors involved in food security is the Empowered Group of Ministers (EGoM), entrusted with analysing the proposed National Food Security Act (NFSA) and additional food-related issues such as import duties and bans on exports. The Group was established in 2009 with the participation of the Ministries of Finance, Agriculture, Rural Development, Defence, Commerce, Textiles, Railway, and Home Affairs, along with the Planning Commission. However, a permanent and structured dialogue and coherence among the food-security actions as a whole are yet to be fully realised.

Similarly, broad multi-stakeholder engagement is limited. The participation of the different levels of government and local civil society is shaped by the scope of specific programmes, with a strong focus on implementation mechanisms. Local governance bodies, known as *panchayat raj*, are important stakeholders of this regard.³⁷ Participation in decision making on the conception and design of national food-security schemes is not structured or formalised within participatory bodies, despite the strong organisation and active engagement of civil society—whose main locus is the Right to Food Campaign—in the debate on food-security policy. The Campaign has been active on various fronts, such as public hearings, rallies, media advocacy and political lobbying (Right to Food Campaign, 2010c).

South Africa's IFSS, on the other hand, is part of a multi-sectoral perspective. The preparation of IFSS was conceived as an effort to "harmonise and integrate" the different existing initiatives implemented by various government bodies (Republic of South Africa, 2002). The strategy sought to bring together several key public sectors to ensure proper food supply, food access and food choices (Drimie and Garrett, 2009). These are organised into thematic pillars that generally correspond to clusters involving several government sectors led by a main institution (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Multi-Sectoral Approach in the IFSS

Pillar	Multi-sectoral approach
1. Production and trading	Lead: Department of Agriculture Cluster: Departments of Land Affairs, Health, Public Works, Water Affairs and Forestry, Trade and Industry
2. Income opportunities	Lead: Department of Trade and Industry Cluster: Departments of Agriculture, Public Works, Water Affairs and Forestry, Minerals and Energy, Public Enterprises, Transport and Communications
3. Nutrition and food safety	Lead: Department of Health Cluster: Departments of Agriculture, Water Affairs and Forestry, and Trade and Industry
4. Safety-nets and food emergencies	Lead: Department of Social Development and Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs Cluster: Departments of Agriculture, Public Works, and Water Affairs and Forestry
5. Analysis and information systems	Lead: Statistics South Africa
6. Capacity building	All departments
7. Stakeholder dialogue	All departments

Source: adapted from Koch (2010).

Furthermore, the IFSS provided a general structure in which multi-sectoral coordination should be organised. At its highest level it placed an inter-ministerial committee comprised of a social and an economic cluster. It should be chaired by the former Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs (MALA). The committee was tasked with making the general policy decisions and reporting on food-security progress to the president and parliament. Coordination of activities within the IFSS, and of the national managers responsible for the specific programmes, fell under the responsibility of the National Coordination Unit hosted at MALA (Republic of South Africa, 2002).

In reality, however, the intended integration and coordination faced significant challenges of implementation despite strong commitment from the central government. Food security is stated as a high-priority policy issue by the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), which includes household food security as part of its constitutional mandate. Nevertheless, while the IFSS itself is conceived in multidimensional terms, in reality programmes are operated by sector and collaboration is hampered by institutional concepts and priorities (Koch, 2010). These challenges are present in the various ways in which food security is actually perceived and dealt with by different institutions. The variations include a difference of focus, from international concerns to individual food security, and from agricultural production to food access by specific social sectors (Drimie and Garrett, 2009).

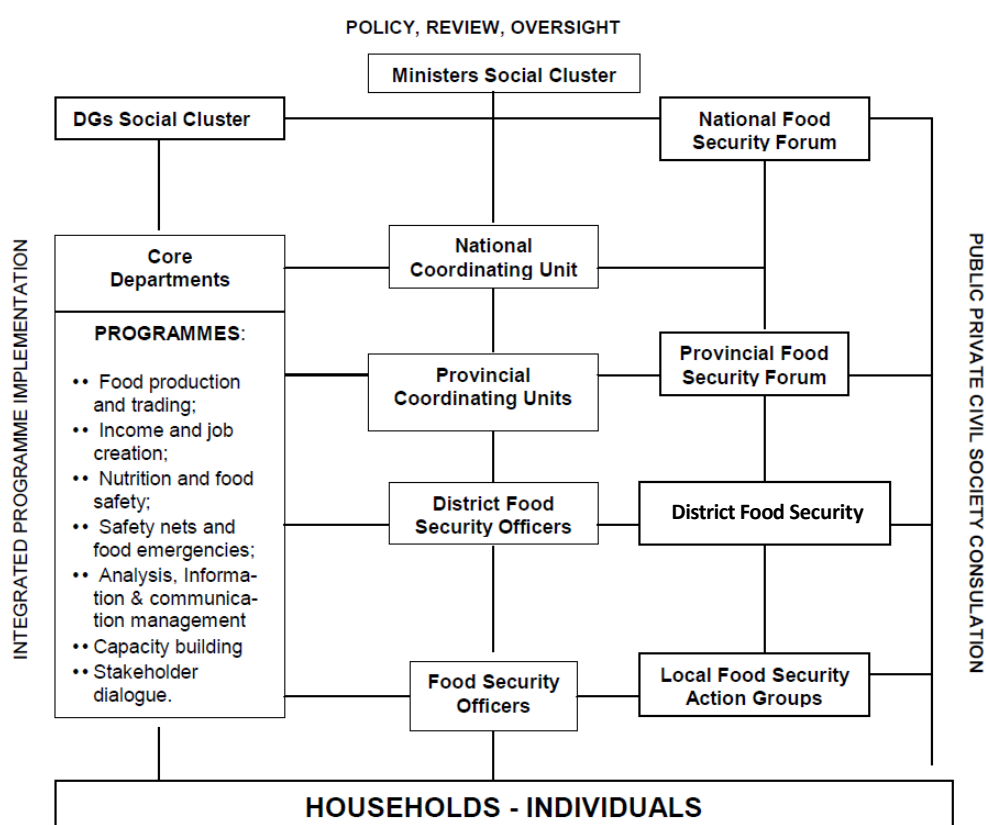
This multi-sectoral approach in South Africa is matched by the substantial degree of importance given to decentralisation and civil-society participation. The organisational structure for this strategy underscores the value of intergovernmental relations and includes

local, district, provincial and national levels of governance. It involves particular bodies in these four levels to bring together the public and private sectors, as well as civil-society organisations (Figure 6).

At the national level, these various stakeholders are meant to comprise the National Food Security Forum (NFSF), a leadership and advisory body tasked with recommending policy alternatives. Each of South Africa's nine provinces should also have Provincial Food Security Forums to bring together government and non-government stakeholders so as to set priorities and disburse funds. Activities at this level are to be managed by provincial coordinators. At the district level, the multi-stakeholder Food Security Committees should identify food-insecure zones, recommend projects and assess the progress on food security. Locally, stakeholders are expected to form Food Security Action Groups to identify food-insecure households. They are to receive technical support from food security officers (Republic of South Africa, 2002).

FIGURE 6

South Africa. Institutional Arrangements and Organisational Structures



Source: Republic of South Africa (2002).

This theoretical structure provides an important framework for social accountability and participation in the field of food security. But there have been significant difficulties in putting these ideals into practice, and prescriptive governance mechanisms are yet to be consolidated. The NFSF has not yet been formalised or assumed its mandated functions (Koch, 2010). A major challenge is the participation of civil society in these forums. Although several organisations are working with food security and nutrition, there is little integration or

coordination among them and it has not been standard practice for them to be involved in policymaking on food security (Tapscott, 2006). Another significant difficulty is the lack of institutional capacity and representation in poor rural areas, which hinders coordination and an effective service delivery that considers local stakeholders' interests (Republic of South Africa, 2002). Moreover, the existing institutional barriers and weak links between the government, the private sector and civil society make it difficult to implement integrated actions (Altman et al., 2009).

The pivotal importance accorded to a multi-stakeholder approach in South Africa is also present in Brazil. As mentioned earlier, both Zero Hunger (Figure 5) and the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (PNSAN) cover several areas that influence food security and nutrition. Collaboration among government sectors is under way by means of a system that encourages multi-sectoral coordination mechanisms with social participation through the National System for Food and Nutritional Security (SISAN), provided for in the Organic Law (LOSAN)³⁸ of 2006.

SISAN comprises two coordination bodies that exist in the three tiers of government (federal, state and municipality): the Interministerial Chamber on Food and Nutritional Security (CAISAN) and the Council on Food and Nutritional Security (CONSEA) (Figure 8). The national CAISAN is a government body established in 2007 and headed by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS). It includes 19 ministries of state and special secretariats (see Figure 7).

FIGURE 7

Government Participation in SISAN

Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS)	Ministry of the Cities
Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management (MPOG)	Ministry of Health (MS)
Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply (MAPA)	Ministry of Finance (MF)
Ministry of Science and Technology (MCT)	Ministry of Education (MEC)
Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture (MPA)	Ministry of Social Integration (MI)
Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA)	Ministry of the Environment (MMA)
Ministry of Labor and Employment (MTE)	Ministry of Foreign Relations (MRE)
Special Secretariat of Human Rights (SEDH) – Presidency	General Secretariat – Presidency
Special Secretariat of Women's Policies (SPM) – Presidency	Civil House – Presidency
Special Secretariat of Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR) – Presidency	

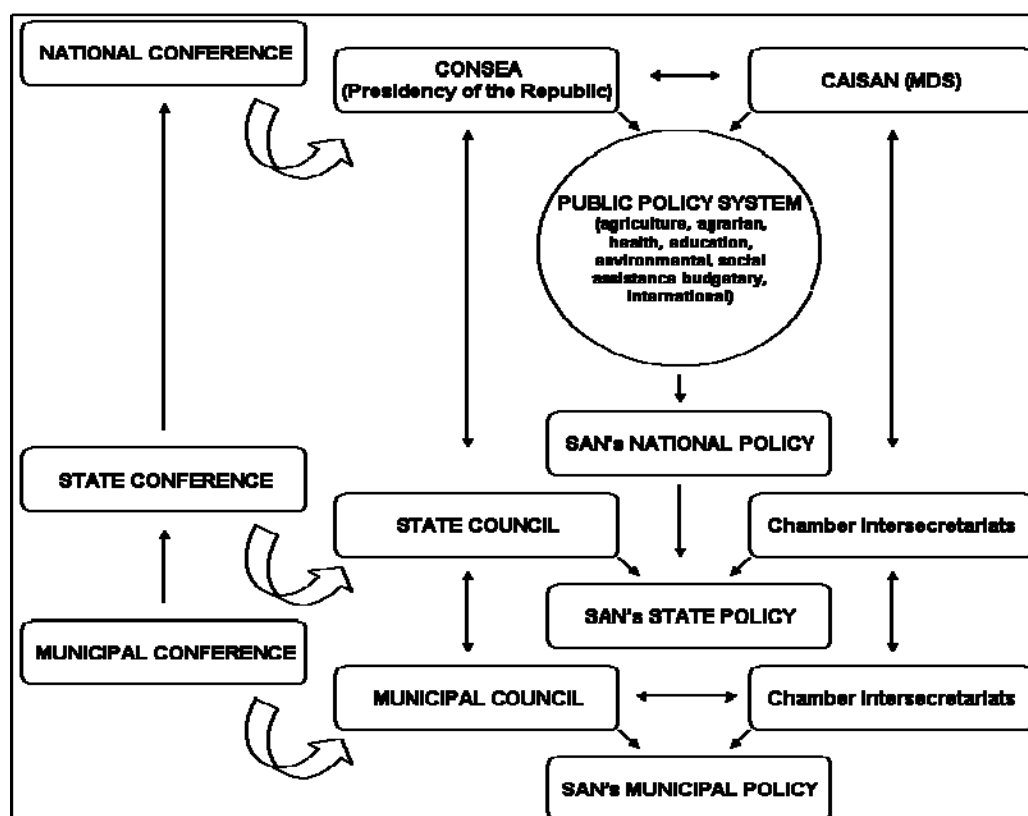
Source: prepared by the authors.

CAISAN's mission is to consider the proposals made by CONSEA for the design and implementation of public programmes. Its duties are: (a) to draw up, on the basis of directives from CONSEA, the National Policy and Plan for Food and Nutritional Security, indicating directives, goals, sources of funds, follow-up instruments, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for implementation; (b) to coordinate the execution of the policy and the plan; and (c) to link policies and plans at the level of states and municipalities (Brazil, 2006). CAISAN's importance was later reinforced by the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (PNSAN). The Chamber's policy role is central and it could become a major locus of food and nutritional security in the government.

Social accountability and civil-society participation in the area of food security and nutrition are also fundamental in Brazil's policy framework. They are effected through the widely used CONSEA and conference systems, as will be explained below. Both structures are defined by the LOSAN as part of SISAN (Figure 8), and are to be present at the three levels of government.

FIGURE 8

Brazil. National System and Policy of Food and Nutritional Security (SISAN)



Source: Presidency of the Republic, 2009.

The national-level CONSEA is an advisory body to the president. Created in 1993, discontinued two years later and reestablished in 2003, it is responsible for proposing the guidelines, priorities and budgetary needs for the National Policy and the National Plan of Food and Nutritional Security, on the basis of the orientations provided by the National Conference of Food and Nutritional Security (CNSAN). It also has the duty to monitor implementation and to link the activities included in the policy and the plan. It is tasked with coordinating with the councils and chambers of food and nutritional security at the state and municipal levels. CONSEA is an important locus for the food and nutritional security debate in Brazil and plays a key role in bringing together various sectors of the public administration and civil society on this issue (Chmielewska and Souza, 2010).

CONSEA has 57 counsellors, of which a third are representatives of the 19 ministries participating in SISAN (Figure 7) and two-thirds are representatives of civil society. The 38 civil-society members represent various non-governmental organisations, social movements and networks, labour unions, religious institutions, professional associations and academia.

CONSEA holds six regular plenary sessions a year (as well as special events) to discuss major policy matters such as programmes and budget needs, allocation and disbursement, the legal framework, and the results of studies.

This wide range of social sectors is also represented in the CNSAN. These bring together representatives of the public sector and of civil society to discuss the directives and priorities of food security and nutrition policies, and to set the guidelines for CONSEA's work. The conferences in each level of the government are organised by the corresponding CONSEA. At the national level, according to the LOSAN, the CNSAN are to be held at least every four years. The participants are chosen by the state conferences. So far, there have been three national conferences, in 1994, 2004 and 2007, with an average of 2,000 participants at each (CONSEA, 2009).³⁹

Although the national Conference and Council do not have the authority to deliberate, they have shown much political capacity to influence policy. At the national level, drawing up the LOSAN and consolidating the SISAN were both among the 47 priorities established at the second CNSAN in 2004. Moreover, the constitutional amendment stipulating the right to adequate food received significant campaigning support from CONSEA. Some federal programmes were also created or expanded in response to proposals from these bodies.⁴⁰

The noteworthy development and achievements of this participatory system in Brazil stemmed from a combination of qualified social engagement and significant government commitment. The federal government regarded the fight against hunger as one of its main priorities, exemplified by President Lula's inaugural speech in 2003. This commitment was embodied in the support for the participatory system, CONSEA being re-created at the national level in the same year. Moreover, the federal government finances the operations of the national CONSEA, including a permanent executive secretariat, the regular plenary sessions and the national conferences, which can amount to a few million dollars per session.

At the same time, civil society developed significant capacity to take part in these forums. Social mobilisation and advocacy on the issue of food and nutritional security was crucial to the re-establishment of CONSEA. It started during the democratisation process in the 1980s and became more structured in the following decade, with significant achievement in the area of awareness raising. These capacities for organisation and mobilisation were important in the consolidation of CONSEA and CNSAN.

Brazil's system for participation and social accountability in the area of food security, however, still faces challenges. These include the consolidation of its decentralised structures. At the state level, there are CONSEAs operating in all 27 federal units of the country, but not all state governments are willing to pay proper attention to food security and nutrition. The same can be said about the engagement of civil society movements and organisations. These challenges are more striking in the municipalities, especially in small ones, where institutional and budgetary capacity is more limited. There are now nearly 600 municipal councils, corresponding to coverage of about 10 per cent of Brazil's municipalities. Since the ability to influence and monitor public activities must be expanded and improved, questions remain about how to successfully establish and build the capacity building of CONSEA in the more than 5,500 Brazilian municipalities.

These considerations reveal that although the multi-dimensional conceptions of food security are present in the policy contexts of the three countries, the way in which they are

reflected in multi-stakeholder approaches assumes particular national forms. In this context, it is noticeable that South Africa and Brazil give considerable attention to these approaches and have fairly parallel understandings as regards the establishment of multi-sectoral, multi-stakeholder and multi-level governance. The efforts to put them in place resulted in the conception of official permanent coordination bodies. In this regard, Brazil has been able to move further in terms of their actual implementation. Conversely, India has not strongly engaged in the design and implementation of multi-stakeholder bodies for policy decision making in food security.

6 FOOD PRODUCTION AND SMALLHOLDER AGRICULTURE

6.1 GENERAL AGRICULTURAL CONTEXT

India has made impressive progress on the agricultural front during the last few decades. Food grain production more than doubled from 94 million tonnes in 1968–69 to 234 million tonnes in 2008–09 (Gol, 2010g). Currently, the main food grains produced in the country are rice, wheat, coarse cereal and pulses. They also constitute the main staple food, which varies a lot by region. Sugar, cotton and jute are also important crops (Gol, 2010b). Because of high population pressure, however, India's land and other natural resources have been under severe stress, leading to an almost stagnant per capita/ per day availability of food grains—468.8 grams/per capita in 1971 and 444.1 grams/per capita in 2009 (Gol, 2010g).

In the 1960s, India was a food-deficit nation. With the application of modern technology, mainly improved seeds, the expansion of irrigation facilities, better fertiliser use, minimum support price for agricultural produce, agricultural research and farmer-linked extension activities, it became self-sufficient and had exportable surplus in the 1990s. In 2006–07, however, the country's efforts faltered, resulting in imports of about 8 million tonnes of food grains after it had maintained imports at around 2 million tonnes during the previous decade. It then reverted to being a net food importer (Gol, 2010g). There is an ongoing discussion as to whether India will again have positive export balances. It has been argued that the country has not provided enough resources for the development of an effective strategy for sustainable food supply (Sardana, 2010).

Nonetheless, agriculture plays a central role in India, since the livelihoods of most of the population depend on this sector. The Indian Agricultural Census 2005–06 gives the total number of operational holdings in the country as 129,222,237, of which 65 per cent are classified as marginal holdings (less than one hectare), 19 per cent as smallholdings (1.0 to 2.0 hectares), 11 per cent as semi-medium (2.0–4.0 hectares), 5 per cent as medium (4.0–10.0 hectares) and 1 per cent as largeholdings (10.0 hectares and above) (Agricultural Census Database, 2010). As per the 2001 census, 742,490,639 people (72.2 per cent of the population) live in rural areas and 286,119,689 (27.8 per cent) in urban areas (Census of India, 2001). This is quite a distinctive characteristic relative to Brazil and South Africa's urbanisation rates (Table).

In Brazil, there are no signs of concern about domestic food availability at the national level. The country is a net food exporter that had a positive agricultural trade balance of US\$55 billion in 2009 (MAPA, 2010). It is also a major producer of most basic foodstuffs,⁴¹ including rice, beans, maize, cassava, dairy products, beef and poultry. National agricultural production has been rising in recent decades, mainly as a result of productivity increases.

Brazil's rural population comprises different socioeconomic profiles that co-exist in a context of considerable land concentration and that account for 15.65 per cent of the total population (IBGE, 2010). There are at least two major categories for policy purposes: "family farming" and "agribusiness", representing various groups supported by related public institutions and programmes. The agribusiness category is a largely monocultural export-led sector. It accounts for 62 per cent of the country's gross agricultural production value and is very largely responsible for Brazil's main products in the international market, such as soy, beef, orange juice, coffee and sugar. Characterised by relatively large properties (310 hectares on average), it accounts for 15 per cent of the 5.2 million rural establishments and more than three-quarters of the rural land area (IBGE, 2009).

Family farmers⁴² form the bulk of the rural population: nearly 4.4 million families on 85 per cent of the country's rural establishments. With properties of 18 hectares on average, this sector employs about three-quarters of rural labour, or 12.3 million people. It produces most of Brazil's basic foodstuffs: 87 per cent of the cassava, 70 per cent of the beans, 58 per cent of the milk and 50 per cent of the poultry (IBGE, 2009).

In South Africa, about 12 per cent of the country can be used for crop production. High-yield arable land comprises no more than 22 per cent of total arable land, with about 1.3 million hectares under irrigation and agricultural activities ranging from intensive crop production and mixed farming to cattle ranching in the bushveld and sheep farming in the more arid regions. Currently, South Africa is self-sufficient in virtually all major agricultural products and in a normal year it is also a net food exporter (Koch, 2010). Maize is South Africa's staple food; other main grain and field crops grown are wheat, potatoes, vegetables, sugar and sunflower seed oil. The main import products include wheat, rice, vegetable oils and poultry meat (Koch, 2010).

Like Brazil, South Africa has what is known as a dual agricultural economy. On one hand, there is a well developed and predominantly white-controlled commercial sector; on the other, most people engaged in agriculture are involved in subsistence-oriented practices in rural areas. The rural population in South Africa accounts for 42.5 per cent of the total population (Statistics South Africa, 2003). According to AGRI-SA,⁴³ close to 40,000 producers are engaged in commercial farming. The average size of their properties is about 2,500 hectares. On the other hand, the 1.3 million small-scale farmers occupy over 14 million hectares and their average farm size is just over 11 hectares. In the main, small-scale production consists of maize for porridge and for staple food consumption, sorghum or wheat for bread or beer, and vegetables like potatoes, pumpkin, sweet potato and dry beans (AGRI-SA, cited by Koch, 2010).

Hence it is noticeable that Brazil and South Africa have a broadly similar magnitude of rural establishments, while India has many more than these two countries. The average size of the holdings of family farmers (Brazil) and small-scale farmers (South Africa) is similar. In India, on the other hand, the average size of operational holdings is significantly smaller and there is a much larger number of such holdings. What is common to all three countries is that most of their rural establishments are characterised as smallholder or family agriculture, although the average size of the properties varies because of varieties in scale. As regards large-scale agriculture, in all three countries there are concentrated landholdings, and the average size of the holdings are quite different: 17 hectares (India), 310 hectares (Brazil) and 2,500 hectares (South Africa). Table offers a brief comparison between these three countries.

TABLE 3

General Comparison of the Agricultural Production Systems in India, Brazil and South Africa

	India	Brazil	South Africa
Total number of rural establishments	129,222,237 ^a	5,175,489 ^b	1,100,000 ^{c44}
Categories	Marginal, small, semi-medium and medium holdings	Family farmers	Small-scale farmers
Average size	0.38, 1.38, 2.68, 5.74 hectares, respectively ^a	18 hectares ^b	11 hectares ^d
Number of rural establishments (%)	128,126,459 (99%) ^a	4,367,902 (84.4%) ^b	1,300,000 ^d
Categories	Large holdings	Agribusiness	Commercial farms
Average size	17.08 ha ^a	310 ha ^b	2,500 ha ^d
Number of rural establishments (%)	1,095,778 (1%) ^a	807,587 (15.6%) ^b	About 40,000 ^d
Status	Net food importer	Net food exporter	Net food exporter
% rural population	72.2% ^e	15.65% ^f	42.5% ^g

Source: ^a Agricultural Census Database (2010); ^b IBGE (2009); ^c Statistics South Africa (2002); ^d Koch (2010); ^e Census of India (2001); ^f IBGE (2010); ^g Statistics South Africa (2003).

6.2 POLICY APPROACH TO SMALLHOLDER FOOD PRODUCTION

Although India, Brazil and South Africa have diverse agrarian structures and their own classifications for farmers, in all of them, generally disadvantaged rural groups (especially smaller-scale producers) are a significant share of the total population. Support to these groups and their food production systems, therefore, is to some extent present in all three countries' policies.

Brazil addresses this concern for food security by paying attention to specific food production models. Questions such as who produces the food, what is produced and how it is produced are prominent in the related debates. The policy framework thus includes particular support for family farmers and associated categories (land-reform settlers, indigenous and traditional populations, quilombolas,⁴⁵ fisher communities, forest pickers and so on). This support is paramount in the Zero Hunger strategy and in the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy.

The choice to support family farming in Brazil has been influenced by these groups' organisational capacity and by the importance of their food production in terms of both quantity and diversity. Support was also determined by the fact that this sector and its related categories are recognised as a significant share of the population's poor and food-insecure, making support to them critical as regards food availability and food access.

Several programmes for these groups are in place. They form the national framework of rural development strategies that has been consolidated for the most part since the 1990s. They address a range of issues such as land reform, technical assistance, credit, insurance and access to markets. One of the main initiatives in terms of budget and scope is the National

Programme to Strengthen Family Farming (PRONAF), which was created in 1995 to provide financial support to this group. It is currently run by the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), the leading public institution in charge of support for this sector. PRONAF provides loans nationwide, mainly through public banks, to cover yearly costs or longer-term investments in agriculture, agro-industry or other rural activities. It has different credit lines with their own limits and interest rates according to clients' income levels and activities. In 2009, nearly 1.3 million credit contracts were signed, amounting to about US\$5.5 billion (MDA, 2010b). An important feature of the programme was the creation of two insurance mechanisms accessed during the credit operation that offer protection against climate hazards (Family Farming Insurance)⁴⁶ and price fluctuations (Programme of Price Guarantee for Family Farming).⁴⁷

Another initiative in Brazil is the Food Acquisition Programme from Family Farming (PAA). Funded by MDA and MDS, it has the dual aim of providing food for vulnerable populations and of promoting social inclusion in rural areas. On the one hand, the PAA facilitates market access exclusively for family farmers and related categories by means of the government's direct purchase of various agricultural goods at market prices and by providing financial resources to be used as net capital by family farmers' organisations. On the other hand, it sets up public food stocks to regulate prices and for the purposes of donations to institutions dealing with food-insecure populations. The programme thus targets two groups of beneficiaries: food producers and food recipients. From 2003 (when it was first implemented) to 2009, the programme spent more than US\$1.5 billion to buy nearly 2.6 million tons of food. In 2009, 138,000 family farmers sold products through PAA, which were donated to about 13 million people. PAA seeks to create and strengthen short supply chains so as to combine support for local production to food habits. This approach has been adopted in various food-security interventions in Brazil, and has allowed PAA to offer significant commercial opportunities to family farmers and to play a significant role in improving their market capabilities. PAA has also made a diversified range of quality and locally important foods available to those who benefit from the programme's "food access component" (Chmielewska and Souza, 2010).

The approach of offering local market opportunities to family farmers in public procurement schemes is also present in Brazil's National School Feeding Programme (PNAE).⁴⁸ A law approved in 2009⁴⁹ established that, of the total financial resources transferred by the federal government to states and municipalities, at least 30 per cent must be used to buy food directly from family farmers, mainly at the local level. This amounts to about US\$500 million. This investment offers another market-access option for these farmers and seeks to stimulate the economic development of their communities.

This framework of programmes has been expanded in recent years as the available budget has increased, which is an important achievement for these groups. Nonetheless, a higher level of public financing goes to export-oriented agriculture. The public budget for the 2009–2010 agricultural year, allocates over six times more resources to the agribusiness sector than to family farming (MAPA, 2009).

As regards South Africa, the IFSS states that one of its main aims is "to overcome rural food insecurity by increasing the participation of food-insecure households in productive agriculture-sector activities" (Republic of South Africa, 2002). One of its pillars—household food production, trade and distribution—responds to this goal. A major initiative that can contribute to that mission is the Comprehensive Agriculture Support Programme (CASP). Managed by the Department of Agriculture, this is designed to provide support to previously disadvantaged groups, which are mainly small-scale and emerging farmers (Koch, 2010).

It was implemented for the first time in 2004–05 and it aims to promote agricultural development, targeting four types of beneficiaries: the hungry and vulnerable, household food producers, the beneficiaries of the land reform programmes, and those operating with the macroeconomic environment. Provision of post-settlement support to the targeted beneficiaries of land reform is at the core of this programme. It has six areas of intervention: information and knowledge management, advisory and regulatory services, training and capacity building, finance, on-farm infrastructure and off-farm infrastructure. Its budget for 2010–11 is estimated at US\$119 million (National Treasury, 2010). The programme, however, only provides for 15 per cent of the total agricultural support in the country (Koch, 2010).

The main support action within CASP is access to finance. The Micro-Agricultural Financial Institutions of South Africa (MAFISA) provide loans, savings and bank facilities for farmers, with a focus on small-scale agriculture and, especially, on beneficiaries of the land restitution, redistribution and land tenure reform programmes. These services seek to promote livestock, small-scale irrigation systems and the acquisition of production inputs. In the 2006–07 financial year, MAFISA disbursed US\$27 million, which was mainly spent on the production of crops, poultry, farming equipment, swine and ostriches (Department of Agriculture, 2008). Most of these activities, however, are generally carried out by farmers whose output is more structured, which reveals the challenge of focusing support on small and emerging farmers (Koch, 2010).

Given the legacy of apartheid, land reform and post-settlement support in South Africa are paramount in the context of broad agricultural and rural development support. In recent years the government has paid much attention to these activities and significant financial resources have been allocated for that purpose. Land reform, however, is a difficult and costly exercise. It is regarded as a main challenge from the perspective of agricultural support, especially because of the emerging farmers' lack of market access and the absence of the agriculture extension services needed to underpin and support land reform (Koch, 2002).

Other programmes also support smallholder agriculture in South Africa. The Household Food Production Programme, for example, promotes vegetable gardens; and the Farmers' Support Programme provides micro-credit. They both fall under the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture (Koch, 2010).

In India, targeted support to food production by smallholder farmers across the country has not been a central element of the major food-security programmes. Although public procurement of agricultural goods is very important in India,⁵⁰ purchases are not made from these groups in particular. The potential of smallholder farmers to benefit as suppliers to food initiatives is mainly raised by social movements, especially the Right to Food Campaign. That movement argues that public procurement from these groups can be used to boost production and can serve to revitalise the agricultural economy (Right to Food Campaign, 2010d). Practical moves in this direction, however, are still limited.

Government procurement is conceived in nationwide terms and is open to all types of farmers, which in practice means that public purchases are concentrated among the country's key productive regions. The Food Corporation of India mostly buys food grains from the states of Punjab, Haryana and Andhra Pradesh, which together accounted for nearly 78 per cent of food grains procured for the central pool in 2007–08 (FCI, 2010a). In this context, the Decentralised Procurement Scheme (DPS)⁵¹ has stood out as an alternative. It has the potential to cover more farmers under the Minimum Support Price (MSP), to acquire food varieties that are more suited to local tastes, and to reduce transportation costs (FCI, 2010b). These operations, however, are still to be expanded.

India's agricultural-support sector has been changing since 2007, when the National Policy for Farmers (NPF) was launched. Several of the government's recent initiatives are strategy, such as the National Horticulture Mission⁵² and the National Food Security Mission.⁵³ A major policy goal of the NPF 2007 is to foster community-centered food, water and energy security systems in rural India, and to ensure nutritional security to every child, woman and man (Gol, 2007). To achieve this goal, two main approaches are being considered: first, the creation of a national social security scheme to protect the livelihoods of small, marginal and landless farmers; and second, the establishment of a government cabinet committee on food security to prepare and monitor a food-security policy that promotes self-grown food grains with the aim eradicating rural poverty and malnutrition.

Overall, in the area of food security, to some extent all three countries consider support to food production by smallholder or family farmers. Brazil has taken more significant steps towards consolidating a broad framework of actions targeted at this group, with considerable budgetary resources. These activities address various phases of production and ultimately introduce tools to incorporate family farmers as suppliers to food-distribution programmes. This is done by promoting local food circuits. The focus on short supply chains has been emerging as pivotal to the country's policy, given its benefits for marginalised farmers' access to markets and for the distribution of goods that are produced and consumed locally.

6.3 SUPPORT TO ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY IN FOOD PRODUCTION

As mentioned earlier, Brazil's conception of food security emphasises sustainability over various dimensions. This is reflected in the support given to food production models that are based on family agriculture and related categories. It also results in the promotion of agro-ecological production and other environmentally friendly practices among these groups. This is stated in PNSAN and is implemented by means of various initiatives. PRONAF has three credit lines geared to environmental concerns: PRONAF Agro-ecology, which supports investment in agro-ecological and organic farming; PRONAF Eco, whereby farmers can invest in agricultural techniques that have low environmental impact; and PRONAF Forest, which finances agro-forestry, ecological reserves, recovery of degraded land and other activities. The National Policy of Technical Assistance and Rural Extension (PNATER) also includes free support to agro-ecological practices for family farmers. Additionally, differentiated prices for their agro-ecological and organic products are offered in government procurement, through the PAA and the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE).

Despite these innovative experiences, there are still controversies regarding support to new production models in Brazil. This is exemplified by the vast use of agro-chemicals, given that the country is the world's largest user of these products (Carneiro and Almeida, 2010), and the deregulated expansion of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), since Brazil has the second largest production area of GMOs worldwide (ISAAA, 2009). The country thus faces challenges in reconciling agricultural production practices with food-security concerns as regards environmental dimensions and their impact on food safety.

The intersections between food production and the environment are less evident in the food-security policies of the other two countries, a circumstance reflected in related programming. South Africa's MAFISA initiative, for instance, does not pay particular attention to environmentally innovative or ecologically based projects. India's National Food Security

Mission (NFSM), one of the country's main food production support schemes, is not fundamentally geared to these concerns.

All three countries have yet to address the links between food production and the environment more robustly in their food-security policies. In this regard, Brazil's experiences offers elements that might usefully be explored.

7 SUPPORT FOR FOOD ACCESS

Access to food is a crucial part of the food-security policies of India, Brazil and South Africa. This is important given the countries' diverse food-access concerns. Brazil and South Africa are not only self-sufficient in the production of most agricultural products, but are also net food exporters. In these two countries, the lack of purchasing power is a key issue in the area of food security. Current statistics show that 35 per cent of households in Brazil still have difficulty accessing food (IBGE, 2010c). In South Africa, 20 per cent of families have inadequate or severely inadequate access to food (Statistics South Africa, 2010). In India, the limits in (economic) access to food—37 per cent of the population was estimated to be living below the country's poverty line in 2004–05 (Gol, 2009a)—add to the uncertainties about the capacity of national food production to respond sustainably to domestic demand.

In all three countries, therefore, programmes that are important in terms of budget and scope seek to increase households' and individuals' capacity to access food. Brazil and South Africa, though they have large programmes of in-kind transfers, allocate greater resources to cash transfers, particularly through grants in South Africa and conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in Brazil. India, on the other hand, focuses to a large extent on in-kind transfers. Moreover, India and South Africa accord much importance to public works programmes, whereas Brazil does not.

7.1 CASH TRANSFERS

In South Africa's IFSS, cash transfers could mainly be related to pillar 4: safety nets and food emergencies. This pillar refers to both short- and long-term actions, such as research and extension services for farmers, as well as the management of emergency relief operations. The IFSS seeks to prioritise support for the poor and food-insecure so that they can engage in the productive sectors and take an active part in the country's economy. The provision of safety nets and emergency relief are seen as a "policy of last resort" targeted at those that are not included in the mainstream economy. In other words, pillar 4 of the IFSS would help support households who cannot attain food security despite the actions taken under pillars 1 (production and trading) and 2 (income opportunities) (Republic of South Africa, 2002).

In reality, however, the main programme that can be brought to this pillar—the Comprehensive Social Security scheme—has by far the highest budget (nearly US\$12.4 billion for 2010–11) among initiatives in the area of food security. Of its nearly 14 million beneficiaries in 2007, most (66 per cent) received the Child Support Grant (CSG) (Municipal Outreach Project, 2010). The CSG was created in 1998 and is implemented and administered by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). It targets children under the age of 15 from low-income families and takes the form of a monthly payment to the child's primary caregiver (SASSA, 2009). Other grants include the Old Age Pension, the Disability Grant and the Foster Child Grant.

South Africa's social security system as a whole is the country's main public intervention and is an important point of reference at the international level for initiatives that seek to reduce poverty and inequality. In 2004–05, for instance, public spending on social security accounted for more than 10 per cent of total government spending and 3 per cent of GDP (ODI, 2006). It has been shown that social grants contributed to household food security in South Africa; they are seen as playing an important role given the country's levels of inequality and unemployment (Altman et al., 2009). The success of the social security system stems from a range of factors, including a high degree of political attention to the matter, effective implementation, and advocacy by organised civil society (ODI, 2006).

As regards Brazil, the biggest programme in budgetary terms in the area of food security is *Bolsa Família* (PBF), whose resources of more than US\$8 billion in 2010 were used to benefit over 12 million households (MDS, 2010). PBF is a CCT scheme, launched at the end of 2003, which sprang from the unification of a series of pre-existing CCTs. Managed by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger, it provides monthly payments to households facing poverty and extreme poverty, according to pre-defined income lines. To receive the transfers, beneficiaries must meet education and health conditionalities, basically related to school attendance, immunisation of children and pre- and postnatal care. *Bolsa Família* is also recognised internationally as a reference programme. Several studies have shown its contribution to reducing social inequalities and poverty (IBASE, 2008; MDS, 2007). It also impacts on food and nutrition security. On the one hand, it ensures greater stability in food access, accompanied by an improvement in the quantity and variety of the food consumed (IBASE, 2008). On the other, it increases prenatal care practices among pregnant women and improves the nutritional status of children below six years of age (Hoddinott, 2010).

Cash transfers, and CCTs in particular, are being discussed in India as a means of addressing food security and nutrition. In 2008, a variation of these programmes, named *Dhanalakshmi* and targeted at families with young daughters, was introduced on an experimental basis in some areas of the country. Several state governments have launched different forms of CCTs (Prabhu, 2009). The potential benefits of larger-scale cash transfers in addressing food security, as well as their role in complementing or replacing other existing schemes, are yet to be further debated in India.

7.2 IN-KIND TRANSFERS

India, Brazil and South Africa all distribute cooked meals through large school feeding programmes. South Africa's National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) could be related to the IFSS's third pillar (nutrition and food safety), whose aim is to guarantee that the population has a good nutritional status. It has the following areas of intervention: public education, monitoring methods, micronutrient supplements for chronically vulnerable groups, and training to integrate food and nutrition concerns into development programmes (Republic of South Africa, 2002).

The NSNP is the current form of a Primary Nutrition Programme created in 1994, which has undergone significant reviews since then (Public Service Commission, 2008). Coordinated by the Department of Basic Education, it aims to improve the learning capacity of primary and secondary school students by means of school meals, strengthening nutritional education in schools, and promoting sustainable food production initiatives in schools. Its budget exceeds US\$500 million for the 2010–11 financial year (Treasury, 2010). In 2009–10, it covered over 7

million students in more than 20,000 schools across the country for an average of 191 days. A distinctive feature of this experience is its support to food production in the schools, leading to the current operation of nearly 6,000 vegetable school gardens. (Department of Basic Education, 2009).

Brazil's National School Feeding Programme (PNAE) was created in the early 1940s. It is the oldest Brazilian food programme and one of the largest school meal schemes in the world. It currently guarantees school meals for all students in basic education. This includes those in kindergarten, elementary school and high school, and youth and adults enrolled in public schools and charity systems. Its goal is to meet the nutritional needs of students during their time in the classroom, contributing to their growth, development, learning and academic achievement, as well as promoting healthy eating habits. Its budget for 2010 was US\$1.7 billion for about 47 million students during 200 school days per year (FNDE, 2010). PNAE has significant scope, since it provides a daily meal to about a quarter of the country's population (IBGE, 2010). A particular characteristic of the Brazilian school feeding experience is its "quota" system: 30 per cent of the procurement resources are to be used to acquire goods from family farmers, as mentioned in the previous section. This type of system is used to support local eating habits and to help rural populations generate income.

India's school feeding programme, Mid-day Meal (MDM), is by far the biggest among the three countries in terms of the number of beneficiaries. It is considered the largest scheme of this type in the world. Created in 1995 as a centrally sponsored scheme, it evolved from state-run universal primary school meal schemes in place since the 1980s. MDM seeks to improve children's nutritional status, encouraging poor children to attend school and concentrate during classroom activities, and to provide nutritional support to children of primary school stage in drought-affected areas during the summer vacation. It regularly serves children in classes I–V (equivalent to primary level) in government, government-aided and local-body schools, as well as students in the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative and Innovative Education (AIE) centres (Gol, 2010e).⁵⁴ MDM had a budget of over US\$1.6 billion in 2008–09, which was used to provide one meal per school day to more than 110 million children (Gol, 2008).

In addition to the school feeding programme, India has another major in-kind distribution programme, the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS). Created during the World War II, this has experienced various changes before reaching its current form. With 160 million beneficiary families, an annual budget of over US\$ 5.4 billion, and nearly 500,000 distribution outlets (called "fair price shops"), the TPDS is considered one of the world's largest distribution networks of its type (Saxena, 2011).

The programme provides a monthly allowance of a range of products (wheat, rice, sugar and kerosene), mainly to families identified as living below the poverty line (BPL). Beneficiaries hold ration cards that allow them to acquire these items at subsidised prices from the fair price shops across the country. The programme involves co-responsibility between tiers of government. The central government, through the Food Corporation of India, manages the procurement, storage, transportation and allocation of products to the state governments. These are responsible for allocating the grains within the state, identifying the BPL families, providing the ration cards, and supervising the shops. Some states also distribute supplementary items through the TPDS. Several states have chosen to implement the

Decentralised Procurement Scheme (DPS), introduced in 1997, under which food grains are procured and distributed by the state governments themselves (Gol, 2010d).

A procurement and distribution programme of this scope poses several operational difficulties, including targeting errors, lack of transparency, and significant leakage of grains, since less than half of the procured goods actually reach beneficiaries (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2005). In addition, the shops' limited opening days, prices charged at higher rates than official values and the low quality of food grains, among other factors, restrict beneficiaries' access to the distributed items (Saxena, 2011). Reform of the TPDS to improve targeting and delivery mechanisms is a constant debate in the country.

7.3 PUBLIC WORKS

India and South Africa have important programmes that seek to offer job opportunities to those in need. India's Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) of 2005 was designed improve livelihoods by ensuring that rural households whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work have at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year. This large scheme is funded by the central government in conjunction with state governments. It has a broad institutional framework and the Ministry of Rural Development is the main agency for its implementation, along with state and local bodies that whose various functions include advising, planning, executing, monitoring and evaluating (Ministry of Rural Development, 2008). The projects carried out through NREGA aim to tackle the causes of chronic poverty. They focus on nine areas of intervention, including water conservation, natural resource management and rural infrastructure. In the 2008–09 financial year, the scheme benefited 45 million households in 615 districts (Lal et al., 2010). NREGA's 2010–11 Union budget exceeds US\$8.7 billion (Pullarao, 2010).

On a smaller scale, South Africa has the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). The first phase was launched in 2004 to alleviate unemployment by creating 1 million work opportunities, mainly for women, youths and people with disabilities. The second phase, which began in 2009, aims to offer an average of 100 days through 4.5 million work opportunities by 2014 (Republic of South Africa, 2010). This multi-sectoral programme has a budget of US\$54 million for the 2010–11 financial year (National Treasury, 2010). The work areas are infrastructure for basic services and social services, as well as environmental rehabilitation, conservation and management (Lal et al., 2010). Most of the work has been created in KwaZulu Natal, Limpopo and the Free State, which are all predominantly rural provinces (Lieuw-Kie-Song, 2009). EPWP could be considered the main programme addressing pillar 2 of the IFSS, which centres on income and job opportunities to support the creation of a labour-intensive and diversified agricultural sector (Koch, 2010).

8 GENERAL CHALLENGES AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN FOOD SECURITY

Assessing the results of Brazil's food-security policy is not simple, since impact evaluations are a challenge in several related programmes and activities. Nevertheless, some significant trends can be highlighted. In recent decades, Brazil has made progress in reducing malnutrition, food inaccessibility, poverty and inequality. The proportion of children under five years old whose weight is below that expected for this age group fell from 4.2 per cent in 1996 to 1.8 per cent in 2006 (MS, 2009). According to the Brazilian Food Insecurity Scale (EBIA), the number of

households facing some degree of food insecurity declined from 34.9 per cent to 30.2 per cent between 2004 and 2009. The share of the population living on less than US\$1.25 fell sharply from 25.6 per cent in 1990 to 4.8 per cent in 2008 (IPEA, 2010). The Gini coefficient⁵⁵ has declined, particularly between 2001, when it was 0.594, and 2008, when it fell to 0.544 (Presidência da República, 2010). Brazil has already attained the targets of the first Millennium Development Goal (MDG), and has since defined more ambitious goals of reducing extreme poverty by a quarter and eradicating hunger by 2015.

This progress at the national level, however, masks significant disparities between regions, races, and urban and rural areas. The North and Northeast regions have the most critical socioeconomic conditions, a circumstance that has persisted over time. Their levels of deprivation are above national levels. In the case of malnutrition of children, the levels are 3.2 and 2.2 per cent, respectively, compared to the national average of 1.8 per cent in 2006 (MS, 2009). In general, rural areas also face greater difficulties than urban areas, evident in the percentage of the population who have a continuous lack of access to sufficient quantities of food: nearly 12.3 per cent in rural areas compared to 8.6 per cent in urban areas (IBGE, 2010b). These discrepancies are also apparent in the 9 per cent difference between the proportion of people living on less than US\$1.25 a day in rural and urban areas in 2008 (IPEA, 2010). The proportion of the population who self-identified as “white” living on less than US\$1.25 a day in 2008 was 2.8 per cent, while among the “non-white” it was 6.6 per cent (IPEA, 2010).

In addition, new challenges have emerged in recent years and special attention is now to be directed at problems of overweight and obesity. Among children below the age of five registered in the national System of Food and Nutritional Surveillance (SISVAN), the incidence of overweight increased from 6.4 per cent in 2003 to 9.7 per cent in 2009. The proportion of those who are overweight (33.5 per cent) is eight times higher than the proportion who are underweight in the 5–9 age group, six times higher in the 10–19 age group (corresponding to 20.5 per cent) and more than eighteen times in adults (reaching the alarming figure of 49 per cent) (IBGE, 2010c). With regard to obesity, there is a higher incidence among both youths and adults, regardless of income levels (Nilson, 2010).

Addressing the impacts of food-security interventions in South Africa as a whole is also problematic. A clear understanding of the country’s progress on food security is challenging because of measurement issues, as explained in Section 3. But some indicators can be explored with a view to providing a general picture of recent trends. From 2002 to 2007, data from the General Household Survey suggests a remarkable decline in the proportion of children-inclusive households whose children experienced hunger. It fell from above 20 percent to nearly 10 percent (Aliber, 2009). Poverty has also dropped sharply. The share of people living below the poverty line as conceived in the Income and Expenditure Survey decreased from 38 per cent in 2000 to 22 per cent in 2008 (Republic of South Africa, 2009). Progress on inequality, however, has been inconsistent: the Gini coefficient fluctuated within the thresholds of 0.665 and 0.688 between 1993 and 2008 (Republic of South Africa, 2009). In addition, the prevalence of underweight among children below the age of five has remained practically stable in the past two decades, at about 10 percent until 2008 (IFPRI, 2010).

South Africa also faces another challenge that affects food security. With a population of almost 45 million and an estimated 5.5 million people infected with HIV, South Africa has the largest number of individuals with HIV in any single country (Renewal and IFPRI, 2006). The effects of HIV/AIDS can be seen on agriculture in rural households (and, by implication,

on household food security) because of effects on agricultural production and productivity, crop cultivation and production systems, and land distribution (Jayne et al., 2004).

Like Brazil, moreover, South Africa has significant internal disparities. There is an almost 12 percentage-point difference between provinces as regards the share of households whose children experienced some type of food deprivation in 2007. The most critical results were in Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, North West and Mpumalanga. They were above the national average by 12.2 per cent (Aliber, 2009). Similarly, the differences in the presence of hunger by area of residence (urban or rural) and by province are both statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$) (Labadarios, 2000). Differences are also apparent in terms of race. Inequality between races has been declining but remains a constant challenge (Republic of South Africa, 2009).

The situation in India can also be viewed from several perspectives. Poverty in India has declined in recent decades. According to official national data, the proportion of people living below the poverty line fell 8.1 percentage points between 1993–94 and 2004–05, when it stood at 37.2 per cent (Gol, 2009a). In contrast, inequality has risen: the Gini index varied from 0.303 to 0.325 in the same period (Topalova, 2008). The share of the population that is undernourished rose from 17 per cent in 1995–97 to 21 per cent in 2005–07. Nearly 238 million people in India suffer chronic hunger, making India home to the largest population in the world affected by this problem (FAO, 2010). And the prevalence of underweight in children below the age of three has not improved much. It fell by only 3 percentage points between 1998–99 and 2005–06 and remains at a high level, affecting 40 per cent of that group (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2009). India is among the world's leading countries with this problem.

As in Brazil and South Africa, there are significant gaps in India. Although levels of malnutrition are high in the country as a whole, nutritional deficiencies are more prevalent among disadvantaged groups. Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have substantially higher proportions of underweight in children below the age of five: 55 per cent and 48 per cent, respectively, against 34 per cent in other groups (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2009). The caste system in Indian society often runs counter to the legal system of the Indian state, which is based on the ideals of liberty and equality (Dohrmann and Thorat, 2007).

Regional variations are also significant in India. The India State Hunger Index shows differences ranging from 13.6 for Punjab to 30.9 for Madhya Pradesh. The states with the most alarming circumstances are Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Orissa (IFPRI, 2009). Underweight in children below the age of five is 13 percentage points higher in rural areas than in urban areas (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2009). The proportion of people living below the national poverty line in 2004 was also higher in rural areas at 41.8 per cent, compared to 25.7 per cent for urban areas (Gol, 2009a).

Another important matter in India is intra-household food insecurity, mainly because of gender disparities. Often, family arrangements can be quite unequal as regards sharing food and childcare. This may include girls being given less food and food of lower nutritional value than boys, or women being expected to eat the least amount, from left-overs, after all other family members have eaten. The burden of housework also limits women's opportunities to earn income, thereby influencing their economic capacity to access food and to contribute to the household's enhanced access to food. Thus the intra-family distribution of resources makes women more vulnerable to food insecurity (Mukherjee, 2009).

India, Brazil and South Africa have made progress on some proxy indicators related to food security. All three countries have reduced income poverty, which has fallen significantly in recent years. Perceived hunger has also declined in South Africa and Brazil. The latter country has also made other considerable achievements. It substantially reduced undernutrition and has managed to meet the targets of MDG 1.

Despite the improvements, food insecurity remains a challenge in these countries. Brazil and South Africa have significant levels of perceived food insecurity. They are also very unequal countries, with Gini coefficients above 0.5, while in India the increasing related values are a worrying trend. Furthermore, India and South Africa have not been able to tackle malnutrition; improvements in the associated indicators have been slow. They also have critical levels of income poverty. Challenges specific to each country are also critical: Brazil's rising overweight and obesity, HIV/AIDS in South Africa, and India's intra-household food-security issues. Finally, the three countries have marked internal disparities, illustrated by differences between regions, areas of residence (urban and rural) and populations (race, ethnicity and caste).

9 CONCLUDING REMARKS: KEY POINTS FOR POLICY DIALOGUE

Brazil, India and South Africa use parallel definitions of food security in official policy documents. These definitions are identified with or include elements of the widely used international concept. Hence the three countries acknowledge the diverse dimensions of the phenomenon and, to different degrees, take into account the need for a broad and multi-sectoral range of interventions to address it. They have therefore designed and implemented national strategies and/or programmes that have shaped the national policy arenas in particular ways.

Their trajectories are marked by similarities and contrasts, and above all they offer opportunities to look at notable experiences and explore relevant issues for policy dialogue. On the basis of the issues analysed in this paper, we can indicate baselines to foster the debate between the three countries.

It is plain that India faces the most worrying situation as regards several aspects of food security, illustrated by alarming levels of income poverty and malnutrition. In the IBSA policy dialogue, India could examine the experiences of Brazil and South Africa in creating multi-dimensional strategic frameworks to tackle food insecurity. Although all three countries acknowledge the various dimensions and implement programmes in a range of public sectors, Brazil and South Africa have taken important steps to organise various food-security initiatives within formal integrated strategies. They are represented by South Africa's National Integrated Food Security Strategy, and Brazil's Zero Hunger and National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (PNSAN). These initiatives seek to arrange and interconnect the numerous public programmes and actions of different government sectors within a comprehensive framework of efforts to address food security. In this area, Brazil made greater progress in consolidating its strategy. Since PNSAN was established by decree, it is legally characterised as state policy and therefore is likely to play a key role in the government's commitment to the matter.

Brazil has also made greater progress in developing coordination mechanisms. Brazil and South Africa have designed multi-tier, multi-sector and multi-stakeholder bodies to manage, implement and monitor these innovative strategies. South Africa, however, still faces considerable challenges to putting them into practice. Brazil created a national-level arena for

coordination and intergovernmental dialogue, the Interministerial Chamber on Food and Nutritional Security (CAISAN), and an advisory organisation comprising representatives of the government and civil society, the National Council on Food and Nutritional Security (CONSEA). Both bodies were located at a high political level. CONSEA took a pivotal role in the development of a coordination commitment, as well as in the consolidation of the policy, programmes and actions related to food security. Two factors were critical in these achievements. On the one hand, the Council was directly linked to the Presidency of the Republic, which significantly contributed to its political legitimacy. On the other, organised civil society was capable of taking an active part in it and could count on significant government commitment. This has been decisive both in fostering negotiable food-security perceptions, priorities and intervention mechanisms, and in building effective political influence on decision making.

India, in turn, can offer the other two countries its experience in the consolidation of a rights-based approach to food security, since it has taken greater steps in this area. India was able to establish important legal instruments and monitoring schemes to tackle violations of the right to food. The judiciary and organised civil society played central roles in these achievements. The Supreme Court took important steps to oblige governments to act according to this right. They include the translation of food-related schemes into “legal entitlements” with the consequent duty on the part of the government to put them properly in place, as well as the creation of a monitoring system based on independent commissioners. The development of this rights-based approach was also the result of the active engagement of the Right to Food Campaign, comprising various civil-society organisations, which has influenced government actions on several of its demands.

As regards income poverty in particular, South Africa follows India inasmuch as the current situation is cause for concern. Economic access to food as a whole is an important challenge for the IBSA members, since perceived food insecurity is also at substantial levels in the two countries that measure it (Brazil and South Africa). It would therefore be helpful to exchange knowledge on national mechanisms currently in place. In this regard, India and South Africa have designed and implemented initiatives to offer employment to marginalised sectors of society and to provide useful infrastructure and services for the community. India’s NREGA and South Africa’s EPWP have benefited tens of millions of poor households. India has made particular progress in this field, since NREGA is guaranteed as a legal entitlement and is extensive in scope.

In addition, South Africa and Brazil have developed large, permanent, cash-transfer programmes related to food security. They deserve to be explored in the dialogue. While South Africa focused on grants for different types of beneficiaries, Brazil emphasised CCTs for low-income groups. These experiences have had impacts on food security and on related issues such as poverty and inequality.

These cash programmes can be accompanied by in-kind transfer schemes with a view to addressing household and individual access to food from various perspectives and combining that with support to food production. In this respect India’s experience can be considered, since the country has sizeable initiatives of this type. They include school meals programmes (of which there are versions in Brazil and South Africa) and grain allocation schemes. Among these initiatives, the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) is prominent for the size of its budget and its scope, as well as its central place in the country’s policy debate. It has proven

that critical challenges have to be faced if such a large programme is to be implemented properly. TPDS is subject to animated discussions on innovative experiences that seek to address such challenges, illustrated by decentralized public procurement of food items and more appropriate monitoring mechanisms for grain delivery.

Another relevant experience that could be considered in this regard is in Brazil, which has been pioneering in the area of government procurement. Brazil has implemented a programme that reconciles food distribution with targeted purchases from farmers who otherwise would face substantial difficulties in accessing markets. The PAA buys food items exclusively from “family farmers” to offer to vulnerable populations. This strategy has been shown to strengthen short supply chains that promote nutritious diets (since they ensure access to a variety of quality food) and that provide important market opportunities and sources of income for suppliers. The same approach was extended to the country’s school meals programme, which now has a quota for a budget allocation that has to be used to buy from these farmers.

South Africa also has interesting initiatives to share as regards the production of and access to varied and nutritious food. Its school meal initiative, the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP), provides support to food production in educational establishments. A notable feature of its implementation was the creation of thousands of school vegetable gardens.

India, Brazil and South Africa still face common challenges in the area of food security, exemplified by inequality, internal disparities and environmental concerns. These challenges, and possible solutions, can be further discussed in the policy dialogue. In general, the matters addressed in this paper indicate that though the three countries have particular food-security policy contexts, there are important opportunities for knowledge exchange within IBSA on overall guidelines, policy strategies and programming.

ANNEX

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FOOD SECURITY POLICY CONTEXTS

	India	Brazil	South Africa
Food security concept	Concept based on the 1996 World Food Summit and the stated multi-dimensions of food security.	Nationally developed concept. Coherent with the 1996 World Food Summit and the stated multi-dimensions of food security.	Concept based on the 1996 World Food Summit and the stated multi-dimensions of food security.
Food security measurement	No consensus on suitable methodology. Most used food security indicator is the national poverty line. Other measurements in place: state hunger index, nutrition status.	No consensus on suitable methodology. Variety of measurements in place: perceived food security, nutritional status, food consumption and so on.	No consensus on suitable methodology. Variety of measurements in place: perceived food security, nutritional status, food consumption and so on.
National food security strategy	Absence of formal national food security strategy. Existence of programmes and actions in various public sectors. Proposed Food Security Act under discussion, but limited to food distribution.	National food security strategy implemented; inclusion of programmes and actions from various public sectors.	National food security strategy drawn up but with implementation difficulties; inclusion of programmes and actions from various public sectors.
Rights-based approach to food security	Right to food recognised in national law (constitution) and supported by several legal instruments. Related accountability mechanisms in place.	Right to food recognised in national law (constitution) and supported by several legal instruments. Related accountability mechanisms still to be consolidated.	Right to food recognised in national law (constitution). Broader legal instruments still to be created. Related accountability mechanisms still to be consolidated.
Multi-stakeholder approach to food security policy	No formal multi-stakeholder body constituted for overall food-security policy decision making.	Multi-stakeholder, multi-sector, and multi-tier bodies for policy decision making defined and in operation to a large extent.	Multi-stakeholder, multi-sector, and multi-tier bodies for policy decision making defined but not yet operational.
Major food security support initiatives	Large programmes (in budgetary terms) in place to increase households' and individuals' capacity to access food. Focus on public works, subsidised food sales and school feeding.	Large programmes (in budgetary terms) in place to increase households' and individuals' capacity to access food. Focus on conditional cash transfers, school meals and credit support to family agriculture.	Large programmes (in budgetary terms) in place to increase households' and individuals' capacity to access food. Focus on social grants.
Key innovative programme approaches to food security	Large employment guarantee scheme.	Broad framework of support actions targeted at family farmers. Support to short food-supply chains in food distribution schemes.	Promotion of sustainable food production initiatives (vegetable gardens) in schools.

Broad food security related achievements	Reduction of poverty rates.	Reduction of poverty rates; reduction of perceived food insecurity; decline in inequality rates; reduction of undernutrition; attainment of MDG 1.	Reduction of national poverty rates; reduction of perceived food insecurity; decrease in inequality rates.
Broad food security related challenges	Increasing inequality; remaining critical poverty rates; discrete improvements in malnutrition, still marked by high rates; increasing undernourishment, marked by high rates; considerable internal disparities; significant intra-household food-insecurity challenges.	Remaining high level of inequality; remaining significant levels of perceived food insecurity; considerable internal disparities; rising overweight and obesity.	Remaining high level of inequality; remaining critical poverty rates; remaining significant levels of perceived food insecurity; discrete improvements in malnutrition; considerable internal disparities; significant HIV/AIDS challenges.

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NOTES

1. Utilisation is commonly understood as the way the body makes the most of the various nutrients in food, this dimension being mainly determined by people's health status.
2. The International Comparison Program (ICP) is a worldwide statistical operation involving some 160 countries. It produces internationally comparable price and volume measures for GDP and its component expenditures. The measures are based on purchasing power parities (PPPs) (World Bank, 2010b).
3. This broader perception is reflected in particular concerns stressed in the Brazilian policy context, such as the support to agro-ecological agricultural production practices and to culturally diversified food habits, as explained later in this document. It is also important to highlight that the value given to availability and access to food in proper quantity and quality is fundamental in the Brazilian experience. It reflects the concerns of two major sectors originally involved in the discussions, rural development and health, which can also be observed in the term "food and nutritional security", widely used in the country rather than purely "food security".
4. A complementary orientation to the food and nutritional security concept widely present in the Brazilian policy debate is the perspective of food sovereignty. It is defined by National Council of Food and Nutritional Security (CONSEA) as "the right of people to define their own policies and strategies for food production, distribution and consumption" (CONSEA, 2009). This notion therefore goes beyond the capacity of a country to produce food for internal consumption and regulate trade. It stresses national choices in terms of the public support that shall be given to different food production models and diversified food habits.
5. For more information, see Section 6.
6. See Section 7.
7. See Section 8.
8. See Section 7.
9. See Section 7.
10. See Section 6.
11. PAT serves workers who earn up to five minimum wages. A minimum wage is currently about US\$320. Hence workers who earn up to US\$1,600 can be served by the programme.
12. Government multi-sector food security and nutrition coordination bodies are being consolidated in the country, mainly since 2006, as will be examined further in Section 5.
13. Decree 7,272 of 25 August 2010.
14. ICDS is a key Indian programme to address nutrition. Its package of services includes supplementary nutrition, healthcare and pre-school education. They are offered to children under the age of six, adolescent girls, pregnant women and nursing mothers through a vast network of ICDS centres. For more information, see Gagnolati et al. (2005).
15. TPDS is a large government procurement programme regarding mainly food grains for subsidised sales to pre-identified poor families. Its approach is that the most vulnerable sectors of society should be entitled to a defined minimum quantity of subsidised cereals per month. This is discussed further in Section 7.
16. See Section 7.
17. See Section 6.
18. See Section 7.
19. See Section 7.
20. See Section 6.
21. See Section 7.
22. See Section 7.
23. The Indian Planning Commission has been measuring absolute poverty based on the consumption dimension. An absolute consumption poverty line is taken to convey the inability of an individual or a household to afford a socially perceived normative minimal basket of basic human needs that is expected to be reflected in some normative minimal standard of living, which should be assured to every individual/household (Gol, 2009).
24. Mild food insecurity is characterised by households' restrictions on food quality and concern about future access to food.
25. Moderate food insecurity exists when there are restrictions on food quantity within households.
26. Severe food insecurity refers to limitations on food quantity for both adults and children within households.
27. The method is based on the idea that the experience of food insecurity (access) causes predictable reactions and responses that can be captured and quantified through a survey and summarised in a scale. The questionnaire captures: feelings of uncertainty or anxiety over food (situation, resources, or supply); perceptions that food is of insufficient quantity (for adults and children); perceptions that food is of insufficient quality (includes aspects of dietary diversity, nutritional adequacy, preference); reported reductions of food intake (for adults and children); reported consequences of

reduced food intake (for adults and children); and feelings of shame for resorting to socially unacceptable means to obtain food resources (Coates, 2007).

28. This term is defined in General Comment 12 to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) as follows: "The right to adequate food is realised when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement." (United Nations, 1999)

29. For instance, in *Shantistar Builders versus Narayan Khimalal Totame* (1990) 1 SCC 520, the Supreme Court stated: "The right to life is guaranteed in any civilised society. That would take within its sweep the right to food" (Supreme Court Commissioners, 2008).

30. Namely, Public Distribution System, *Antyodaya Anna Yojana*, Mid-day Meal Scheme, National Old Age Pension Scheme, *Annapurna Anna Yojana*, Integrated Child Development Services, National Maternity Benefits Scheme, National Fertility Benefit Scheme (Right to Food Campaign, 2010a).

31. The "*Antyodaya Anna Yojana*" (AAY) was launched in December, 2000 for the 10 million poorest of the poor families. AAY contemplates identifying these populations among the BPL families covered by TPDS within the states and providing them with food grains at a highly subsidised rate (Gol, 2010a).

32. For information on the Mid-day Meal Scheme, see Section 7.

33. CONSEAs are advisory or deliberative bodies comprised of government and non-government representatives. They are part of SISA, a multi-sector and multi-stakeholder coordination system for food security and nutrition. They are discussed further in Section 5.

34. The CDDPH is a collegiate, human-rights-linked of fundamental importance in promoting and protecting human rights in Brazil. It has the primary responsibility to receive and investigate complaints of serious human rights violations of national reach (CDDPH, 2010).

35. Dhesca is an grouping of 36 national movements and civil-society organisations. Its main objective is to help build and strengthen a culture of rights and develop the enforceability of Dhesca. It also focused on the formulation, execution and control of public social policies (Dhesca, 2010).

36. FBSAN is a network of organisations, social movements, civil society organisations, individuals and institutions concerned with the issue of food security. Their main objectives and actions include advocacy, elaboration of proposals for policies and actions, and monitoring of government's responses regarding the violations of the right to food (FBSAN, 2010).

37. In the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS), for instance, the central and state governments share responsibility for the implementation of the programme, as seen in Section 7. The *panchayat raj* are also involved in TPDS, especially in accountability mechanisms. They are entitled to take part in vigilance committees and to receive and make public important information on programme implementation, such as the list of beneficiaries, per capita food entitlements and prices, and stock and sale registers.

38. Law 11,346 of 25 September 2006.

39. For more information on the latest National Conference, see CONSEA (2007).

40. The II (2004) and the III CNSAN (2007) prioritised, among other needs, an increase in the budget per student available for the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE), as well as its expansion to secondary school level and adult education; these measures finally came into force in 2009. The influence of these participatory bodies was also crucial in the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA), which was devised and implemented as the result of the strong participation of family farmers in this arena.

41. A major exception to this situation is wheat, which Brazil imports in large quantities, mainly from Argentina. In 2009, the country imported 5,445 million tons of wheat (Miklasevicius, 2010).

42. In Brazil, family farmers are legally defined in the National Family Farming Act (Law 11.326) according to four criteria: the rural establishment (or undertaking area of activity) does not exceed four fiscal modules (defined in each municipality); the labour used in the related activities is predominantly family-based; the family's income predominantly originates from activities related to farming and the small-holding; and the establishment is directly managed by the family.

43. Agri South Africa (AgriSA) is an agricultural trade association in South Africa. It is a federal organisation that, on behalf of its members, promotes the sustainable profitability and stability of commercial agricultural producers and agribusinesses through its involvement and input on a national and international level. It represents more than 70 000 small- and large-scale commercial farmers.

44. The data on the number of total establishments, small-scale farms and commercial farms were not available from a single source. Different sources were therefore used and they have discrepancies, as noted in the table. This data should therefore be regarded with caution and used as a general reference.

45. *Quilombola* is a descendant of former slaves living in a *Quilombo*: settlements built by these descendants.

46. The Family Farming Insurance (SEAF), created in 2004, covers 100 per cent of the loan and 65 per cent of the expected net income from the harvest, in case of losses due to drought, rain, hail, wind and other factors. Over 685,000 families contracted SEAF in the 2008–09 agricultural year, totalling over US\$2.6 billion (MDA, 2010a).

47. The Programme of Price Guarantee for Family Farming has insured producers against price falls since 2006. It offers a discount on the credit payment that is equivalent to the value difference between market prices and reference prices defined by the National Supply Company (CONAB).

48. More details on PNAE are presented in Section 7.

49. Law 11,947 of 16 June 2009.

50. The main programmes that use government procured food for in-kind transfers are examined in Section 7.

51. This scheme was introduced in 1997–98 to encourage procurement in non-traditional states, thereby extending the benefits of Minimum Support Price (MSP) to local farmers. This system also enhances the efficiency of the Public Distribution System and enables supply of food grains more suited to local taste. This also results in saving in transportation cost of the Food Corporation of India. Under this scheme, the state government itself undertakes procurement of paddy/rice and wheat on behalf of the government of India, and also stores and distributes these food grains. The central government reimburses the entire expenditure incurred by the state governments on the procurement operations (Gol, 2010d).

52. The National Horticulture Mission was launched during 2005–2006 to promote growth of the horticulture sector through area-based and regionally differentiated strategies. The initial focus was on an integrated approach covering production, post-harvest management, processing and marketing as a means to enhance production, improve nutrition and increase returns to the farmers (Gol, 2010c).

53. The National Food Security Mission is a centrally sponsored scheme launched in 2007–08. Its main aim is to increase the production of rice, wheat and pulses through area expansion and productivity enhancement in a sustainable manner.

54. EGS and AIE are schemes aimed to bring out-of-school children to elementary education. They consist of setting up schools in locations where there are none and alternative methods of mainstreaming of out-of-school children.

55. The Gini coefficient is a measure of the inequality of a distribution, a value of 0 expressing total equality and a value of 1 maximal inequality. It is commonly used as a measure of inequality of income or wealth.



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